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Notes to Contributors

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JOURNAL OF
LOCAL ADMINISTRATION
OVERSEAS

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Editor's Notes

THE ROLE of the district or 'generalist' administrative officer has been subject to political and administrative pressures for change in newly independent countries. Although the variety of changes to governmental structures not only between but also within these countries projects a blurred image, the comment-ary on the reorganization of the administration in Tanganyika[1] in the first article of this issue makes it of interest to compare briefly the changing role of administrative officers in Tanganyika and in three other countries where this has been discussed recently in this *Journal*, namely Sudan, India and Burma.

The pressures to change the inherited system of local administration have been stronger in Africa than in Asia where it has had deeper roots. They may result from the wish of elected ministers to have more direct control over their field personnel, the departure of expatriate administrators with consequent under-staffing and the need to relieve overburdened district offices of tasks which could be transferred elsewhere, the feeling that the administrative service is a symbol of the colonial past, the assumption that in this era of development the political personality will kindle enthusiasm in the people and embody their aspirations more readily than the district commissioner or the recognition that if policies of democratic decentralization are to be effective the 'generalist' local administrator must either disappear or move into the background.

The recent changes in Tanganyika have considerably reduced the number of district officers by transferring two-thirds of their establishment to either the judiciary as magistrates or to the Ministry of Local Government as local government officers, that is inspectors. Although political commissioners have been appointed at both regional (formerly provincial) and area (formerly district) levels, taking over such duties as co-ordination of government activities and supervision of the local councils, the reorganized regional administration is still responsible for such routine residual administrative tasks as dealing with destitutes and registering births, deaths and marriages. Mr. Warrell-Bowring suggests that the present separate roles of politician and civil servant might usefully give way in time to a more integrated arrangement similar to the French prefectorial system.

Although in Tanganyika a residuum of the former provincial administration continues to operate alongside the new political commissioners, the office of

[1] "The Reorganization of Administration in Tanganyika", by W. J. Warrell-Bowring, p. 188.

district commissioner in the Sudan[2] has been progressively stripped of all its functions. The administration of government lands and the assessment and collection of business profits' tax have, among other tasks, been entrusted to the local councils; tribal disputes requiring settlement are being sent to the native courts, the supervision of which has been transferred to the judiciary; responsibility for public security has been assigned to the police and agricultural duties to the Inspector of Agriculture. Except in the less developed parts of the Sudan where the district commissioner (renamed the local government inspector) still performs multifarious duties until specialist officers are available and local councils have been built up, the Government is satisfied that the abolition of the district administrative service will not create difficulties of co-ordination in the work of departmental officers and of local councils. As in Tanganyika, its former members have been posted to other duties, but particularly to the local government inspectorate.

The African trend has been towards the removal of the district officer, but in India the collector has been retained[3], although he has in recent years moved from the realm of administration into the realm of politics.[4] In the years after independence, he became responsible for the co-ordination and execution of the district development programme in addition to carrying out his traditional tasks of collecting revenue, preserving order, administering justice and maintaining land records. There has been no uniformity in the way different States have varied his duties since the advent of *panchayati raj*. Where it has not been fully implemented (such as in Kashmir and West Bengal), his responsibilities have remained the same as before. In most states he is playing an active part in the work of the new local government institutions, such as being the chairman of the *zila parishad*, but in some land legislation and miscellaneous district duties still make up the bulk of his work. In Maharashtra, he has been excluded entirely from *panchayati raj* and has become instead the industries officer. It remains to be seen in India to what extent he will become the supervisor or executive officer of the new elected councils in his district.

The deputy commissioner still acts as the hub on which the wheels of adminstration in each district revolve in Burma.[5] In addition to discharging his normal role as an agent of the central Government, he became the chief executive officer of the few district councils introduced as a measure of decentralization in 1956. Unfortunately the councils have been suspended temporarily until certain defects can be put right.

The experience of these countries suggests that the alternative new roles for district officers can rest between complete disappearance and transfer of his duties elsewhere to retention not only as an area co-ordinator, carrying out traditional functions of maintaining law and order, collecting revenue and generally acting as the 'eyes and ears' of the Government, but also promoting in different ways the healthy growth of new local representative institutions.

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[2] "Local Administration in the Sudan", by C. A. G. Wallis, *J.A.A.*, Vol. XIII, No. 3, July 1961, pp. 161-2; and "Decentralization in the Sudan", by Henry Maddick, *J.L.A.O.*, Vol. I, No. 2, April 1962, p. 81.

[3] "The Present and Future Role of the Collector in India", by Henry Maddick, *J.L.A.O.*, Vol. II, No. 2, April 1963, pp. 75-97.

[4] See p. 220, "Community Development, Planning and Administration at Local Level in India", by Shri S. Chakravarti.

[5] "Decentralization for Development – II", by U Thoung, *J.L.A.O.*, Vol. II, No. 1, January 1963, p. 27.

A NOTE ABOUT THE JOURNAL

As readers will be aware from recent issues of this *Journal*, contributions to its pages have come from all parts of the developing world. In keeping with its aim of providing a medium for the exchange of information about administration at the local level, honorary editorial advisers are being appointed in different countries to suggest contributors and to help in supplying brief news items for inclusion in a feature which is appearing for the first time in this issue – Quarterly Notes.

The first three advisers are Mr. A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, M.B.E., Reader in Public Administration at the Institute of Administration, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, for Northern Nigeria; Mr. H. E. Maude, O.B.E., Senior Fellow in the Department of Pacific History in the Australian National University, Canberra, for the Pacific; and Dr. A. P. Barnabas, Reader in Sociology at the Indian School of Public Administration in New Delhi, for India. The Editor of the *Journal* from January 1964 will be Mr. D. A. Pott, O.B.E., formerly Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Local Government in Northern Nigeria.

The Reorganization of the Administration in Tanganyika

by W. J. Warrell-Bowring

Whatever arrangements they may have inherited the political leaders in the majority of the newly-independent African states have displayed no intention of permitting a reduction of the exercise of control by the central Government. Before independence nationalist leaders have rarely complained about the centralized nature of the government of their country usually established by the colonial power. Their object has been to control the machinery of government, not to change it. Apart from increasing the tempo of Africanization, few immediate changes in the structure of the civil service are introduced at the onset of independence. The new leaders are well aware of the value of a trained, well-organized and disciplined civil service to put into effect the decisions of the legislature.

The provincial administration at independence

Tanganyika became independent in December 1961. Since then, very few changes in the organization of government departments have been introduced. The notable exception is the re-organization of the arm of government known in pre-independence days as the provincial administration, which has resulted in the removal of the provincial and district commissioners. As the senior administrative officer in each district, the district commissioner had become accepted as the embodiment of government's authority and his removal from the scene is bound to have a profound impact on rural African society. Since the Tanganyika Government intended to raise living standards by introducing self-help schemes based on prepared development plans and to exercise a tighter financial supervision over local authorities, there were obvious advantages in retaining experienced administrative officers at the district level to put these policies into effect. But other factors influenced the government in introducing change.

At the time of independence the provincial administration was almost at full strength, with 197 administrative officers posted at provincial headquarters or at district offices. 46 expatriate administrative officers, however, had given notice that they wished to retire under the compensation scheme, while 25 African recruits to the administrative service were being trained at the Administrative Training Centre, Mzumbe.

The duties of the district commissioner were the same as in pre-independence times. He was responsible for maintaining law and order and the proper functioning of government's executive machinery. He was chairman of the district team, the committee which co-ordinated the plans for the economic development of the district and which provided the opportunity for discussion on all matters of local interest. He was responsible for ensuring that the financial policies of the local authority were sound and he acted as legal adviser when his opinion was sought. He supervised the administration of justice in the local

Mr. W. J. Warrell-Bowring is an administrative officer in the Tanganyika Civil Service seconded to the Institute of Public Administration, the University College, Dar-es-Salaam.

courts and heard appeals from their decisions. He was a revenue collector, accountant, magistrate, coroner and an agent for all government departments not represented in his district. He sounded local opinion on government proposals and interpreted local attitudes in a manner comprehensible to civil servants at departmental headquarters. Performing this quasi-political duty had become easier when elected ministers were appointed and the senior officer of each department at district or provincial level was made responsible for the implementation of ministerial policies. At the same time, it became all the more important that the district commissioner should be available to co-ordinate the efforts of the different departments.

To carry out this formidable list of duties efficiently, a high standard of general education and personality were required together with several years' experience. It was foreseen that it would be difficult to maintain the same standards if a large proportion of administrative officers opted to retire under the compensation scheme. In 1961, a senior district officer investigated ways to reduce the volume of work in district offices and to transfer some of the responsibilities of district commissioners to other ministries. Many of the recommendations made in his report have now been adopted.

Changes in the provincial administration in 1962

The first changes introduced were political rather than organizational. In February 1962, all the provincial commissioners were asked to retire and political personalities, all well known to the public, were appointed in their place. At the same time, the provinces were renamed regions. The regional commissioners were not expected to carry out the routine duties performed by their predecessors but to be responsible for the maintenance of law and order, the good government of their regions, the exercise of financial control over local authorities and the strengthening of contacts between government and governed. The deputy provincial commissioners were renamed administrative secretaries and remained responsible for matters affecting the civil service and for co-ordination between government departments. Shortly afterwards, district commissioners began to be replaced by area commissioners. Politicians were selected to fill these posts although, in a few cases, junior administrative officers with a flair for politics were also appointed. Only a few of the area commissioners assumed office before a major reorganization of the administration took place.

In July 1962, the duties and responsibilities of the administrative officers at the district level were considerably reduced. The most important duties which were transferred to officers serving in other ministries were:

(i) supervision of the finances of local authorities;

(ii) supervision of local courts and hearing appeals;

(iii) juridical functions as a magistrate.

To carry out these changes nearly two-thirds of the total establishment of administrative officers in districts and regional headquarters were transferred to the judiciary to act as magistrates or were appointed local government officers (as inspectors). While the 'general post' was in progress most of the area commissioners assumed office.

These, then, are the bare outlines of the changes. The reduction in the authority of the district commissioner was to have been expected. In normal circumstances his importance would have decreased as soon as there was a modern

and efficient system of local government; in Tanganyika the process was hastened when the shortage of trained administrators made it necessary to transfer some of his duties to representatives of other ministries. Although the decision to appoint the area commissioners was not anticipated by the pre-independence administration, the replacement of a civil servant by a politician as the embodiment of government authority has occurred in several countries attaining independence after a period of colonial government. Since some of these changes might be introduced one day in other ex-colonial territories, it may be useful to consider whether the strain on the government machine could have been lessened by a piecemeal introduction of changes over a period and to examine the ways in which the present arrangements for government representation at district level might be improved by further modification.

The changes now introduced are derived from two distinct policy decisions. Firstly, there was the need, for a variety of reasons, to transfer certain responsibilities from the district commissioners; secondly, the expressed wish of the government to replace the civil servant administrator with a political appointee. The fact that both decisions have been put into effect simultaneously has perhaps prevented a critical examination of the problems likely to arise from the introduction of the second change. For this reason, the timing of these changes is an important consideration.

It was unfortunate that the reorganization of the judiciary, resulting in a complete separation of the judicial and executive arms of government, was not carried out prior to independence, while there were a number of experienced officers available. This would have been difficult, however, because it would have been necessary to hand over to the new cadre of magistrates the responsibility for the supervision of the local courts and the task of hearing appeals from them. This was not possible until some important decisions on the integration of the two courts' systems had been made. It was only right that the necessary changes should be introduced by the popularly elected government which succeeded the colonial régime.

District commissioners and local authorities

The most difficult task facing the district commissioner after independence was to maintain good relations with his local authority. The difficulties he encountered showed that changes were necessary not only in the ways of exercising control over local authorities but also in their constitution.

For several reasons the development of local government had failed to keep pace with the constitutional development of the country as a whole. At the time of independence most of the rural local authorities still operated under the Native Authority Ordinance. Although they were still in name the native authorities, chiefs or federations of chiefs permitted most of their duties to be undertaken by the councils of elected representatives which had been created to advise them. In most districts these councils assumed full executive powers for managing the authority's affairs, but more often than not they did not operate under any precise constitution. Because councillors were unaware of the extent and limitations of the powers of a native authority, considerable confusion arose, and the district commissioner was called upon to settle disputes and doubts. Furthermore, being still responsible for the supervision of local authority finances, he often had to take decisions which ran counter to the wishes of the councillors.

The first requirement was to introduce in all districts a modern system of local government in place of the native authority councils. An adequate framework for this change had been created as long ago as 1953 when the Local Government Ordinance was enacted. Soon after independence, the Minister for Local Government directed that all councils in rural areas still operating under the Native Authority Ordinance should take immediate steps to transfer their authority to district councils constituted under the Local Government Ordinance. The changeover inevitably caused many problems; unfortunately the district commissioners were no longer available to offer advice and guidance at a time when most needed since the reorganization of the provincial administration coincided with the introduction of the new councils in the majority of districts.

It was right to insist on the introduction of a uniform pattern of local government more in keeping with contemporary needs, and the decision to introduce the cadre of local government officers was inevitable because replacements for experienced administrative officers could only be obtained by a 'crash' programme of training based on specialization. It is not so certain that the newly-appointed local government officers should be under the general control of area commissioners instead of being directly responsible, through the regional commissioners, to the Minister for Local Government. In the past, a district commissioner delegated his responsibilities for financial supervision to one of his district officers, while he remained as adviser to the council on more general matters. He often found it difficult to maintain good relations with his council owing to the recurring need for him to interfere in financial matters. The present arrangement, confirmed by a recent circular issued by the Ministry of Local Government, closely follows the old one. The area commissioner may find himself beset by a similar problem to that of the district commissioner. He may be confronted with the need to act on the advice of his local government officer: to disregard it may lead to imprudent use of council funds, but to follow it may antagonize the councillors and destroy the improved relations between central and local government bodies which were so confidently expected when the area commissioners assumed office.

Although in more recent years the strict control exercised by the provincial administration over the financial policies of native authorities had been much relaxed, it was considered unwise to abandon it in favour of more indirect methods, such as withholding grants or refusing loans for capital works: to do so might have brought about a dissipation of the slender resources available for maintaining the social services undertaken by native authorities. As a result the same methods of control continued to operate after independence. A step in the right direction had been taken when a system of internal audit was introduced throughout the country; this provided a useful check on day-to-day financial transactions. All the same, responsibility for the continuing viability of native authorities remained with the local representatives of the provincial administration. The difficult position of the administrative officers charged with these responsibilities was appreciated by political leaders and probably influenced the government when it decided to appoint the regional and area commissioners. Yet the fact remains that if the district commissioner had been relieved of his supervisory duties at an earlier date, a better relationship between him and his council would have been possible. The urgency to replace civil servant by politician would have been lessened and the new appointments could have been safely postponed at least until the new district councils were firmly established.

It is suggested that responsibility for the supervision of local authority finances should have been transferred from district commissioners to a cadre of local government officers responsible through the provincial commissioner to the Permanent Secretary (Local Government) as soon as internal self-government was introduced. At the same time the district commissioner would have continued to give advice and general guidance. Having experience of the local authorities he was qualified to ensure the maintenance of certain minimum standards, and as chairman of the district development committee and general co-ordinator, he was able to ensure co-operation between the departments of central government and the local authorities. With the 'self-help' nation-building schemes now in progress, experience of planning and ability to co-ordinate the efforts of the natural resources departments in particular are assets just as valuable as the ability to kindle enthusiasm by impassioned rhetoric. Although it might be difficult to divorce his advisory duties from responsibility for financial supervision, it should not be overlooked that local government and provincial administration were grouped together in one ministry throughout the period under review and therefore the actions of administrative and local government officers could have been effectively co-ordinated. Furthermore, while the district commissioner continued to fulfil the role of the public conscience, exercising a paternalistic restraining hand to prevent financial disaster, the ratepayers had little incentive to complain about unnecessary expenditure. Ultimately informed critical opinion in local government affairs must develop as the most effective check to the abuse of responsibility.

The local government officers could have exercised control by personal inspection, by action on audit reports and by paying close attention to the minutes of finance committees. When advice or instructions went unheeded, the Ministry of Local Government would have been compelled to decide what action should follow instead of passing criticism to the district commissioner and leaving it to him to bring about an improvement by conducting an exercise in diplomacy. This transfer of supervisory duties from the district commissioner would have been even more to the advantage of his successor who invariably has no experience and knowledge of the detailed working of local authority finance. But despite this handicap the area commissioner possesses one important advantage over his civil servant predecessor: there is a genuine desire on all sides to foster a spirit of national unity, so criticism and direction from him, assuming he acts on the advice of his local government officers, is at present more acceptable than from the district commissioner he has replaced.

Once the majority of administrative officers had been transferred to the judiciary or had been appointed as local government officers, other steps were taken to relieve the understaffed district offices from responsibilities which could be transferred elsewhere. In January 1963, the Treasury assumed responsibility for running the district revenue offices and in March 1963 the task of administering deceased estates was transferred to the Ministry of Justice. These particular responsibilities were comparatively unimportant. The district commissioner had already been relieved of a time-consuming duty when in 1961 the lowest rate of personal tax was abolished. For several years the collection of this tax had never justified the time, expense and energy spent in collecting it.

Whereas the reasons for distributing the duties of the district commissioner are self-evident and changes were inevitable, the decision to appoint regional

and area commissioners was not foreseen by the pre-independence administration. Introducing the Constitution (Amendment) Act, 1962, the Minister for Local Government and Administration said:

"Hon. members will readily see the need there is today for the appointment up-country of political representatives of government. In the past officers of the provincial administration have been obliged to carry out numerous political functions in their capacity as chief government spokesmen in their provinces and districts. They have in practice, in the eyes of the people, been the Government. In an independent Tanganyika with a popularly elected government, such a state of affairs is no longer appropriate."

The Minister went on to stress the need to encourage the people to participate in making a success of the development plans, saying that the government believed enthusiasm could be kindled by a politician more effectively than by a civil servant. The motion introducing the Act received enthusiastic support from members and was carried without dissent. There is no doubt that it was generally believed that the district commissioners' duties were still primarily political. This misapprehension was due to two causes: firstly, that owing to the rapid advancement from the introduction of the ministerial system to full independence the public had not fully understood that ministers had taken over from district commissioners the task of explaining government policy: secondly, for the reasons already explained, the majority of district commissioners were still directly involved in the affairs of their own local authorities.

The new regional administration; present and future

The area commissioners are subordinate to the regional commissioners, but have the same duties and responsibilities within the boundaries of their districts. These are primarily political, namely to preserve a sense of unity, to foster a national spirit and encourage the promotion of self-help schemes. It was expected that the persons appointed would exercise their undoubted powers of persuasion to achieve these ends and that they would be assisted by inheriting the prestige enjoyed, for different reasons, by the district commissioners.

There remains the question of whether the new arrangements are to be regarded as a logical corollary of one party government or as an interim measure to be modified when the staff position improves. Part of the efficiency of a civil service depends on the quality of the system of communication. Whereas other ministries adopt the normal procedure by which political direction is given to the top civil servant who passes on the instructions through 'the usual channels,' the regional administration now operates in a different way. Regional and area commissioners are responsible to the Vice-President; administrative secretaries at regional headquarters and area secretaries in districts are responsible to the Permanent Secretary (Administration). Although regional and area commissioners are responsible for governing they are not held responsible for the expenditure of government funds nor for civil service staff matters. This duality may cause many difficulties, particularly at this stage when there is an acute shortage of trained personnel. The civil servant is under no illusions where the power lies, and its exercise without the concomitant responsibilities is unlikely to promote good administration unless strict party discipline is maintained.

The government is well aware of these difficulties. In May 1963, the number of regions were increased from ten to fifteen. With fewer districts under their charge, regional commissioners can exercise closer supervision and much

inevitable misunderstanding can perhaps be eliminated. The increase in 'offices' may add to the strain in the headquarters of ministries but better qualified staff are available there to withstand the extra pressure.

What are the functions of the civil service side of the regional administration? Most of the residual tasks are routine duties undertaken on behalf of other ministries which are not adequately represented at district level. Other duties, such as corresponding about passports, registering births, deaths and marriages or dealing with destitutes, require no more than an understanding of the instructions issued on these subjects. The traditional and time-consuming duty of listening to complaints brought by the public demand no special qualifications. Some other responsibilities, however, such as assessing compensation when land is alienated or carrying out certain duties connected with the administration of justice, call for the exercise of judgement and can only be entrusted to officers of a high calibre. The test of administrative ability is not so much to demonstrate expertise in settling complicated problems but, by using foresight sharpened by experience, to prevent the problems ever arising. It is, surely, still necessary for the regional and area commissioners or their respective civil servant secretaries to possess these qualities. If such qualities can be developed in the commissioners, a closer integration of the two parts of the regional administration should be obtained.

If by careful selection and training this administrative ability can be developed it might be suitable to introduce an arrangement similar to the French prefectorial system. In the smaller regions now constituted the French prefect would have his counterpart in the regional commissioner, with the area commissioners and council chairmen in the roles of sub-prefects and mayors respectively. The government has already gone part of the way to adopting the system by the appointment of some administrative officers as regional and area commissioners. In France, the prefect is a senior civil servant whose appointment and promotion depend on his relationship with one of the political parties. Unlike other civil servants absolute loyalty to the party appointing him is considered necessary and he can be dismissed by the government without any reason being given. He maintains close contact with the mayors of the *communes* through his sub-prefects. Although his duties are political, administrative experience is a *sine qua non* when his suitability for appointment is considered. For although most administrative decisions are taken by the mayors and the municipal councils of the *communes* under his authority, he possesses the power of veto which he could not exercise usefully unless he had a sound knowledge of public administration.

The prefect system is advocated for another reason, perhaps more important than for the need to straighten out organizational inconsistencies. In any system of government, adequate checks must be provided to prevent abuse of power. While the civil servant is restrained by various government regulations and the threat of disciplinary action which might follow if he ignores them, the politician is sensitive to the opinions of the electorate from whom he derives his power. When he accepts a government appointment, sometimes in a place far removed from his own constituency, the effect of public opinion is perhaps less important to him. The French system provides the necessary restraints to prefect, mayor and municipal council alike while permitting the government at the local level to be represented by a person whose political loyalty is assured. Since this quality at this stage is considered to be of paramount importance by the government, a well-tried system which incorporates the political administrator deserves close attention.

The 1962 Indian General Election in Musheerabad, Andhra Pradesh

by Hugh Gray

The State of Andhra Pradesh was formed in November 1956 by merging the nine Telengana districts of the old Hyderabad State with the State of Andhra. At this time Andhra was three years old, having been formed out of eleven districts of Madras State.

For two-thirds of Andhra Pradesh the election came after a period of seven years. The 1957 election was confined to 105 seats in the nine Telengana districts, while the term of 196 legislative assembly members from the eleven Andhra districts (elected in the mid-term election of 1955) was extended by two years, so as to be conterminous with that of the Telengana legislators. The total strength of the state legislative assembly is therefore 301, including one member who is nominated by the Governor of the State from the Anglo-Indian community.

Andhra Pradesh consists of three regions. In the Circars (the wealthy coastal delta districts), the Congress Party won 88 out of 176 seats; in Rayalseema, it won 25 out of 57; and in Telengana, 63 out of 106. Of the remaining 43 Telengana seats, the Communist party won 18 (9 of them in Nalgonda district), Independents 19, Swantantra 3, and Socialists 2. The election in one constituency was postponed owing to the death of a candidate.

Election arrangements

Elections are held on the basis of total adult suffrage, but to be entitled to vote an elector's name, accompanied by a number, must appear on an electoral roll relating to the constituency concerned. These rolls, prepared territorially, are published and objections can be made to entries on them. Their preparation and revision are carried out by government employees, who are responsible to the collector (the senior official) in each of the 20 districts of Andhra Pradesh. The political parties are not directly concerned in registration, and no registration cards are distributed as only 15 per cent. of the population is literate.

The Election Commission is ultimately responsible for the conduct of elections but in all the districts of Andhra Pradesh the collector is responsible for the administrative arrangements, including the choice of polling stations which are often sited in schools. Each station is assigned one or more policemen, and police forces are held in reserve for any emergency. The collector is also responsible for the training of the staff of polling stations, all of whom are government employees, including many schoolmasters. A senior district official, such as a deputy collector or a community block development officer, is placed in charge of a number of polling stations, and is responsible for seeing that all administrative arrangements run smoothly.

Each polling booth at the 1962 general election was looked after by a team of five officers and a presiding officer (all government employees). Two checked

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Mr. Hugh Gray is a lecturer in sociology at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and carried out field work in the Telengana districts of Andhra Pradesh in 1962.

[1] The polling details are given in the table at the end of the article.

the names of intending voters to see that they were on the electoral rolls, and then issued two ballot papers, one pink for the state assembly, the other white for the Lok Sabha (the House of the People). The numbers of the ballot papers issued were noted against the names of the voters receiving them on the electoral rolls. (Although the ballot is absolutely secret, this procedure caused certain prudent people, generally government servants, not to vote, as they pointed out that how one had voted could in theory be traced.) The third official had a bottle of indelible ink, which he used for placing a mark just below the fingernail of the first finger of the left hand, to impede the voter from returning to register his vote a second time. The third and fourth officers instructed the voters. They took the two ballot papers away from the voter, and explained to him how to use the stamp provided to put a red cross against the name and symbol of his choice. He was then given back the pink assembly slip and went into a curtained recess to make his mark. The fifth official, who looked after the sealed ballot box, checked that the voting slip had been folded correctly, so that the number of the district and polling station, stamped within a small circle in the right hand corner of the back of the ballot paper, showed clearly when the voting slip was dropped into the sealed ballot box. This was intended as a safeguard against a duplicate slip being substituted. Then the second white voting slip for the Lok Sabha was handed to the voter, who retired into the second curtained recess and repeated the same performance.

Voters perceived by the polling booth officers to be intelligent and literate were given the two ballot papers together, and the explanation how to vote abbreviated. The issue of two ballot papers seemed to confuse some voters. "You want me to do it all over again?" Officials had no time to explain federalism.

It took about a minute for each voter to cast his vote. There were about a thousand voters to each polling station, and the poll averaged 60 per cent. The polling stations were open from 8 a.m. and anybody arriving before 5 p.m. was entitled to vote. Sometimes long queues formed in areas cordoned off and supervised by the police, who turned latecomers away.

There were often separate polling booths for men and women, who queued separately even if voting in the same booth. Some confusion was caused at one of the Hyderabad city polling stations when a number of transvestite eunuchs turned up to vote; neither men nor women would accept them, and a third queue had to be formed.

The principal political parties had polling agents, who were allowed inside the polling stations. They sat behind the officers in charge of the electoral roll to help in detecting voters impersonating others.

All the political parties gave last minute training on electoral procedure and issued polling cards to enable quick tracing of the electors' names on the electoral roll; many voters seemed to think (wrongly) that it was necessary to have them to be able to vote at all. Of course the voters did not necessarily vote for those who had provided them with polling cards. At one booth an old man made a great fuss about supporting congress. He was quietened by the presiding officer, who pointed out sternly that the ballot was secret. He came from behind the screen without having folded his ballot paper, and looking over his shoulder I saw that he had voted for the communist candidate. As he went out he shook hands with the congress polling agent and scowled at the communist one. Guile or error?

At the general election of 1957 there were separate ballot boxes for each

candidate. It was possible to purchase votes from individuals who had taken their ballot papers out of the polling stations; these were then brought back in by a trusted person, who bundled them into the appropriate ballot box. In 1962 the individual purchase of votes was less general (although some known opponents were paid in some constituencies to stay away from the polls altogether). One man said to me "We are honest people, if we sell our votes we give them to the person we have sold them to." A defeated candidate told me how a villager came to him, cried and said, "Forgive me. I cannot sleep; I took the money because I needed it for food, but I would not have done so if I had thought you were going to lose. I thought you were certain to win."

In rural constituencies, influential men (caste elders and village officers) thought to command many votes were often given money presents. There was much large-scale feasting and much alcohol was distributed on the night before the poll in some constituencies. In one rural constituency near Hyderabad it was said that not a goat nor hen was left alive!

At the close of the poll, the presiding officers at the polling stations each prepared a ballot paper account, and put into separate packets:

(*a*) the marked copy of the electoral roll;
(*b*) the unused ballot papers;
(*c*) the cancelled ballot papers;
(*d*) the cover containing the tendered ballot papers;
(*e*) the list of challenged votes (when voters claim they have been impersonated and their votes cast by somebody else);
(*f*) any other papers directed by the Election Commission to be kept in a sealed packet, including a diary of the day's events.

When ready, the ballot boxes were taken under armed police guard to the place at which the votes were to be counted. This started after the polling (which was spread out over a week) in all the constituencies was over, and was completed within three days. It was conducted by government employees watched by party representatives. As the votes were counted from each polling station separately, it was possible to know territorially within a constituency how the votes had fallen.

After the count had been carried out, the returning officers (whose names had been published by the chief electoral officer of the Election Commission about a week before polling started), declared the candidate with most votes elected, and issued them with signed certificates of election.

The election campaign

Urban election campaigns are very like those in Britain. Public meetings, processions, door to door canvassing, distribution of party literature, and personal manifestos are means adopted to persuade the electorate.

Intellectually the candidates had an easy time. There was no planned heckling at meetings, and stewards removed any interrupters. Questions were not generally invited at the end of speeches and members of parties did not seem to attend each others' meetings in the city constituencies. Meetings and processions were forbidden on the eve of the poll to avoid possible clashes.

Burra katha (drum stories) were less familiar electoral pursuits. One started by explaining what an election was, saying that it was the sacred duty of all to vote. It described how the sitting member had obtained electricity for his home village, and how an unamenable though conscientious official was transferred; how the sitting member's wife obtained university appointment, not

on her merits but because of his influence; how his corrupt practices caused a major disaster to an irrigation reservoir. At the end of this recital, the virtues of the sitting member's opponent were sung, and the people were urged to vote for this paragon.

Not all speeches, even in the city, were on national issues. A successful congress candidate at a meeting I attended said "If I am elected I can do things for the people of this locality the other candidates cannot. The two sons of my friend there were denied admission to college, a favour I could easily obtain for him as I belong to the government party and I know the authorities personally. Can the other candidates claim this?"

Another speaker said, "Let us consider the six candidates standing in this constituency. Three are uneducated men unworthy to be your representatives. Of the other three one has the hand of Nehru on her head, the second has the hand of Krushchev on his, but the third is the slave of this community and his only desire is to serve you."

Of the national leaders who spoke in Hyderabad, Mr. Bhuptesh Gupta, the communist leader, was the most entertaining. He condemned Mr. Nehru's poetry on the Commonwealth. Mr. Nehru had ordered ships of the Indian navy to fire salutes on the Queen's birthday, whereas in England not a pistol shot was fired for the birthday of the Indian President. He also complained that the Indian Government, out of the pockets of the people, continued to pay the pensions of British civil servants "whose hands were dripping with Indian blood."

General election manifestos were issued by all the major political parties at a national level. In Hyderabad City nearly all the candidates produced personal manifestos (often in English as well as Urdu and Telegu), and these, while introducing key themes from the national documents, also included many local issues. Outside the city, personal manifestos were rare, and the only literature distributed consisted of copies of voting slips with crosses against the party symbol urged on the voter. Within the city, some campaigns closely followed the best British practices, such as that of the congress candidate in the Jubilee Hills constituency who sent signed letters to voters and a personal letter to every postal voter, as well as polling cards and a personal manifesto.

Personal manifestos were generally accompanied by photographs of the candidates, but wives, dogs and children were not thought to influence the voters favourably, as in Britain. Personal biographies were also given, in which past services to the public and political militancy were generally stressed. The official party manifestos were impersonal and dealt with broad issues of policy. As documents they had little direct influence on election results, but themes from them were blended with local issues in speeches and documents. One prominent Congress Party leader told me that he only talked about foreign policy outside Hyderabad City in towns and villages on the national highway or bus routes. Otherwise he confined himself to the benefits flowing from congress rule, and abuse of communists. Outside the towns my impression was that the election campaign was fought on local issues and the record of the state government, rather than national policies, and the only 'all-India' names invoked were those of Nehru and Gandhi. Much stress was laid by the Congress Party in Andhra Pradesh on the fact that a *harijan*[2] had become its chief minister.

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[2] A *harijan* is a member of the scheduled castes, known as untouchables but called by Gandhi the 'children of God'.

Party symbols

Only recognized parties at the general election are allotted reserved symbols. The Congress Party is entitled to the symbol of the yoked bullocks in all states and union territories. An exception was made for the Swatantra Party, which had not contested previous elections, because of its strength in various state legislatures. For independents, who may be members of non-recognized parties or individuals, a set of free symbols is made available in each state; if two candidates ask for the same symbol, lots are drawn. When lots were drawn in Hyderabad City, eight Majlis candidates drew the rising sun as symbol. This seemingly providential intervention was then marred by the party president, who drew scales for the parliamentary seat. Much party effort has to be put into hammering the symbols into people's minds so that the illiterate do not vote for the wrong candidate, particularly in rural districts where people are not reached by mass communications media.

In the Nizamabad district there was much confusion over symbols. In the town of Nizamabad, at the last municipal election, the Congress Party had not run an official list of candidates, and congress factions stood against each other. These factions persisted, and when members did not receive congress tickets for the assembly in the general election of 1962, they stood as independents, using the same symbols as in the municipal election. I toured the district with a state minister, who was addressing large meetings of his fellow castemen, weavers, urging them to vote for those Assembly Congress Party candidates who were members of his group within the Congress Party at state level. In one village, a villager said to him, "You tell us to vote for the yoked bullocks (the congress symbol), but the district congress president tells us to vote for the true congress symbol, the bicycle (the symbol of the dissident congressmen standing as independents). How do we know what to do?" At a large meeting of active congress workers the state minister reproached them with disloyalty to official party candidates, "Do you approve the child who kicks the mother who gives him milk?" But they remained unrepentant, and he refused to eat the official dinner which had been prepared for him.

It is certainly an advantage to the Congress Party that its symbol, like that of the communists, is widely known, and attempts are made by politicians to sentimentalize them. Both parties emphasize that their symbols are symbols of the people, linked to agricultural and manual work on the land: "The Congress Party is your party, which is why you should vote for the yoked bullocks; it works for you like them."

Election expenses

The maximum expenditure permitted by law is Rs. 7,000 in the case of an assembly constituency, and Rs. 23,000[3] in the case of a parliamentary constituency. Candidates of the Congress Party are expected to bear their own expenses, though in special cases the party gave needy candidates Rs. 5,000 and a jeep. This they did for all *harijan* candidates standing in reserved constituencies. (In the past the election expenses of *harijans* had usually been paid by their running mates in double-member constituencies, but these have since been abolished.) Most candidates seemed to think it fair play to spend above the officially permitted maximum, provided the money was spent by friends, not themselves. There was widespread sympathy when, after the general election

[3] About £525 and £1,725 respectively.

of 1957, the Minister of Planning was unseated by the High Court. Following an election, there are many election petitions against successful candidates alleging improprieties. In this particular petition, the main charge was that the Minister, during his election campaign, had made improper use of transport belonging to a government-owned sugar factory. Instead of being forced to retire from public life, the ex-Minister was made General Secretary of the State Congress Party. He had broken the law, but not prevailing convention.

I have listed some variables in the electoral campaign and described some of the polling arrangements and campaign techniques. I shall now describe the election campaign in one urban legislative assembly constituency.

The election campaign in the urban constituency of Musheerabad in Hyderabad

31,068 votes were polled in the urban constituency of Musheerabad, which had an electorate of 59,979; 952 votes were invalid. The following were the results:

T. Anjiah, Congress	16,844
Satyanarayana Reddy, Communist ...	8,761
Shankariah, Independent	1,694
V. Rama Rao, Jan Sangh	1,206
N. Narsing Rao, Independent	999
K. Kishore Dutt, Swatantra	913
Syed Abdul Majeed, Independent ...	651

Both the communist and congress candidates considered the constituency to be 40 per cent. working class and 60 per cent. middle and upper middle class. Of those classified as working class, 25 per cent. were said to be skilled industrial workers. Both candidates said that the communists were strong among the organized skilled workers, the congress among the unskilled. Both agreed that the result would depend on how the middle class voted.

The congress, communist and swatantra candidates were all professional trades union organizers. The organization of trades unions in India is an entrepreneurial activity, and a union can be legally formed where seven workers are willing to pay regular subscriptions. Professional experts, often lawyers, battle to obtain adherents for the unions they have formed. In Hyderabad it was rare for a trades union leader to have come up from within the movement. But Anjiah, the congress candidate, was one of these rare exceptions, having started as a factory worker rather than as a lawyer or politician.

Anjiah, a toddy tapper by caste, was a follower of Sanjiviah, the *harijan* chief minister at the time of the general election, who later became the All India President of Congress. This time he wished to represent the urban constituency in which he had trades union interests; so he applied for the Musheerabad Congress Party ticket. The state congress committee recommended another applicant who had offered to build a temple in the neighbourhood, and had some influential local support. However, Anjiah managed to prevail over his more opulent rival through the influence of the Indian National Trades Union Organization in Delhi.

The communist candidate, Satyanarayana Reddy was, like Anjiah, in his middle thirties but middle class and university educated. During his student days he had been an active Congress Party worker, but had left congress to join the Communist Party. This, he said, had been for ideological reasons. But during the campaign his opponents alleged that he had left the Congress Party because he had not received the party ticket to contest a past election. He was

one of the Communist Party city leaders charged with trades union organizations, and had been particularly successful in Musheerabad in winning over the allegiance of an industrial union (at the Praga tools factory) which had previously been congress. There was much bitterness between these two men.

During canvassing, congress workers stressed Reddy's middle class background, saying that although a communist he was a rich man, whereas Anjiah was a self-made working man from a poor family.

Reddy's manifesto, apart from restating the Communist Party's national policy, attempted to exploit local dissatisfactions. It said, "Prices of land are going up. It is becoming impossible for even a good middle class family to purchase land and construct a living house." For Muslims it pointed out "When one does not see the signboards of offices in Urdu, when one finds that their handicap with regards to proficiency in Telegu is used as a stick to beat them down in competitive examinations, they feel rightly outraged." Anjiah's manifesto closely followed the official congress line.

Shankariah was a dissident congressman who had been elected to the municipal council of Hyderabad, against the congress candidate. Now, as then, he stood as an independent. Musheerabad was a large sprawling constituency and Shankariah's influence was confined to the ward which he represented on the municipality and where he lived.

V. Rama Rao was a law student and the son of a local doctor. He and his workers concentrated on door to door canvassing, and appealed to Hindus for their votes as members of a great national community. His party, Jan Sangh, was described by Reddy (together with the Majlis-e-Ittihad-ul-Musilmeen[4]) as being "parties of dark communal reaction" which were "attempting to divide our people on communal lines and destroy the very secular democratic structure that we have given to ourselves through the republican constitution." Certainly a prominent member of Jan Sangh, Dr. L. V. S. Sarma, told me that there was no reason why an industrial society should not be based on the four *Varnas*[5] of the *Rig Vedas*, and every citizen placed in one of them. There would be individual mobility from one to the other, on the basis of merit and suitability; this was how Hindu society had been in the past, and would be again. The present caste system was a travesty of its Vedic original, and must be reshaped to its original nature.

Leaders of both Jan Sangh and the Majlis denied that they were communal parties, stating that they were open to communities other than their own. Abdul Waheed Owasi, the Majlis President, pointed out that the Musheerabad candidate of the Majlis was a Hindu.

This candidate was Notika Narsing Rao, a butcher by trade, whom I found working in the local market. He told me that he had been approached by the Majlis, after standing as an independent in the municipal election, and had agreed to join the party and stand as their candidate. They were helping him with his election expenses. The Majlis had made its political appearance at the municipal election for the first time and won many seats. It was considered by non-Muslims to be in direct line of succession to Kasim Razvi's Razakar movement which, under the Nizam of Hyderabad, had militantly opposed union with India. The city of Hyderabad has a large

[4] Abbreviated to Majlis in the following paragraphs.

[5] The charter of the caste system is the four *Varnas; Brahmins* (priests), *Kshatriyas* (warriors), *Vaisyas* (merchants) and *Shudras* (workers and artisans). The *harijans* are outside the caste system.

Muslim minority, indignant at their loss of power and privileges, and the replacement of Urdu by Telegu or English. It was thought that it might win several seats at the general election, and Hyderabadis were surprised that it only won one.

K. Kishore Dutt, Swatantra, was a businessman, an organizer of trade unions, and a resident in the constituency like all the other candidates. In his personal manifesto he mentioned "the deep frustration spread in the business community by the thoughtless legislation of the ruling party. The prices soar high, all activities are subject to regimentation killing the individual initiative in every walk of life." He added that "being a labour adviser, I have had the fortune to study the travails of the poor and the middle classes in eking out their simple life."

Syed Abdul Majeed, a local Muslim, was a candidate for the Muslim League (like the Majlis an unrecognized party, so its candidates were forced to stand as independents). He told me that he was standing in addition to the Majlis candidate because the problem of the Muslims was an all-India problem, not one confined to Hyderabad alone; the horizons of the Majlis were provincial, not national like those of the Muslim League.

The election campaign lasted for about three weeks. The only two candidates with large numbers of workers were the congress and communist candidates. Both held many public meetings with many visiting speakers throughout the constituency. They distributed much more literature than the other parties, and like them did much door to door canvassing.

Vote contractors were in evidence. These are men who help others with marriages, funerals, the arranging of loans and the arbitration of quarrels. They will bail their clients out of custody if they are arrested, and arrange for their legal defence. They generally operate from shops or business addresses, and claim to control hundreds of votes. Another type of contractor runs gymnasiums for young men, and at elections will supply them in required numbers, at a price, for aggressive or defensive purposes.

There was only one clash in Musheerabad on election day. The Congress and Communist Parties had set up offices about one hundred yards from the polling station, and from these they issued polling cards. No propaganda was allowed within a hundred yards of the polling station. At about 11 a.m. a Communist Party polling station agent complained to the police about a Congress Party banner, saying that it was within one hundred yards of the station; the Congress Party workers refused to move it. After some delay the distance of the banner from the polling station was measured by the police, and found to be 73 yards. The police officer then ordered the congress workers to remove their banner. They admitted "they were slow about it" and a fight broke out, the congress workers attacking the communist office with sticks. Police reinforcements arrived, there was a baton charge, and the crowd which had gathered quickly dispersed.

Conclusion

After the counting of the votes and proclamation of the result, there were no speeches, but the winning candidate made a victory procession through the constituency.

There is no doubt that Indian elections, and the manner of conducting them, are derived from British practice, and the habit of democracy seems a firm legacy of British rule. It is only eleven years since the first general election was

held in India, on the basis of universal adult franchise, and a properly compiled and published electoral register. The ballot is secret and voters are offered a choice between competing candidates contesting votes under agreed rules. Parliamentary democracy is growing strong roots in India.

THE POLLING DETAILS

Party	Seats contested	Seats won 1962	(1957)	Votes Polled	Per-centage
Congress ...	299	176	(238)	5,509,865	47.23
Communist ...	136	51	(37)	2,257,748	19.35
Swatrantra ...	140	19	(12)	1,239,324	10.62
Jansangh ...	70	—	—	117,029	1.03
Socialist	15	2	—	72,131	0.71
Republican ...	18	—	—	45,115	0.40
Praja Socialist ...	6	—	—	34,738	0.32
Independents ...	193	51[5]	(10)	2,389,692	20.42
Invalid Votes ...				466,330	

[5] Of the 51 independents elected, about 20 were rebel congress men, 18 were communist-supported and 2 were members of unrecognized parties (Majlis-e-Ittihad-ul-Musilmeen and the Praja Socialists).

A Guide for the Administrator to the Principles of Community Development

by Peter du Sautoy

It is now fashionable to talk of community development in developing countries as a means of securing the people's participation in national plans of development, and most administrators in such countries have probably now heard of this term. Unfortunately, however, it is likely that not nearly so many will have an entirely clear idea of what community development really is.

In this they are not always helped by community development enthusiasts who occasionally tend to shroud their basically simple concepts in some rather frightening jargon. In saying that the concepts of community development are simple I do not imply that they are therefore inferior or unimportant; many great truths are often basically very simple indeed. However, the simplicity of community development may be like that of a conjuring trick, which is simple enough when you know how it is done, but which can be very mystifying in its result to the uninitiated.

What is community development ?

A further problem in considering community development is that the term is sometimes used to describe a philosophy of approach, which can be applied to a large number of human activities, and at other times describes a programme of action, standing in its own right, which may be undertaken by a specialist department of government, and which demands the most careful co-ordination with other services.

Further, although community development has been accepted by the United Nations[1] and by the National Council of Social Service of Great Britain[2] as having some application to the problems of Western developed and urbanized societies, it is often thought of as directed only at the rural areas of developing countries – perhaps because it has been largely practised in those areas where, of course, the majority of the population live and the need is greatest.

Community development also, because its practical application ranges so widely, may be studied in a number of contexts; an administrator who likes subjects to be neatly labelled and precisely defined may be somewhat taken aback to find community development systematically studied at different universities in connection with economics, town planning, social administration, political science, government and education – and this list is not exhaustive.

Fortunately it has now been possible to secure agreement among the specialists themselves on an international definition of community development, first produced by the United Nations in 1956, part of which will be quoted later. A disadvantage of this definition is that it is of such length that it is difficult to

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[1] *Community Development and Social Welfare in Urban Areas*, U.N., 1960.

[2] *Community Organization: An Introduction*, N.C.S.S., London.

carry it in one's head, but it does have the advantage that one can test various activities against it; if they fit the definition then they may be accepted as genuinely community development. If they do not comply with the definition, then, however desirable they may be in their own right, they cannot be regarded as community development activity in the technical sense of the term.

One difficulty is that much activity which could genuinely be regarded as community development under this definition is often carried out under other titles such as extension education, social development, rural development, rural animation, human investment or mass education, to name only a selection. There are also the fringe activities of such subjects as co-operative education, community organization, adult education, agricultural extension, home economics or social group work, which may be indistinguishable from community development activity in practice, even though the essence of these subjects may differ widely from that of community development, or from each other.

One must therefore look very closely at an activity aimed at improving people to see what it actually does and on what principles, rather than at what it is called. However, we unfortunately live in an age of labels and polysyllabic titles. Because a subject is labelled in a certain way some people may think that it must be basically different from something with a different label – although the metaphorical contents of the bottle may have almost the same ingredients.

Thus, a country which asked for outside assistance towards 'the protection of indigenous populations' from ILO, 'fundamental' (now termed 'adult,' and previously 'out of school') education from UNESCO, 'family care' from UNICEF, 'home economics and agricultural extension' from FAO and 'community development' from the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs, might think that it was covering a very wide field. It might not realize that there is a very considerable overlap between these supposedly different subjects, and that it might be importing the seeds of confusion and dissension as well as of improvement.

It is essential for the administrator to define precisely what he wants to be done. There is no objection to community development, if this is what he wants, being carried out under some other title (which may have the advantage of being one with a good public image, such as 'mass education' in Ghana), provided that he realizes that it really is community development as properly defined.

Indeed, some administrators in developing countries, when informed of what community development really is, contend that in fact this is what they have always been doing.[3] In India, however, community development has been definitely proclaimed as being a new approach to administration based on a development (or nation-building) approach as distinct from one based on law and order, regulatory or paternalistic functions. It undoubtedly is the case that some administrators have in fact been doing community development some of the time, but it is unlikely that they will have been able to do it all of the time (for example, certain law and order functions of the field administrator can by no stretch of the imagination be legitimately called community development) and they may not have done it as efficiently nor as systematically as possible, because they were not specially selected for it nor trained in the techniques of

[3] Cf. the speech by Mr. E. C. Thomson, Acting Minister for Native Affairs in Northern Rhodesia, at the Community Development Workshop, 1963, Oppenheimer College.

community development which are now well documented and taught in many special courses.[4]

As some French officials (who have long regarded community development as a typically Anglo-Saxon mystique) have now put it, like M. Jourdain in Molière's *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, who had spoken prose all his life without knowing it, they themselves have often been practising community development without knowing it. Indeed, one can take many examples of what would now be called community development from ancient history. No one has a proven monopoly on the invention of this subject, although its definition is of comparatively recent origin. This need not necessarily detract from its importance; the law of gravity existed long before the famous apple hit Sir Isaac Newton on the head.

But when one knows what one is doing one can eliminate hit and miss empiricism. It is now fairly generally accepted that there is a corpus of principles and techniques which can be systematically studied and taught under the title of community development. If one had to label it in terms of academic disciplines it would be an applied social science.

One may also accept the fact that, provided these principles and techniques are *properly* applied, more often than not – and I make this reservation since nothing dealing with people and their reactions is yet an exact science – they will have beneficial effects. The word 'properly' is emphasised since poor practice in community development has often got the principles a bad name. People may consider the ends to be bad because the means are poor, or *vice versa*. There is also a tendency to generalize about the whole of community development as a result of a few poor examples. B. Mukerji has emphasized, in relation to the Indian community development programme, the unfairness of criticizing a whole community development programme when really one is criticizing something different such as the fixing of over-ambitious targets for the programme to achieve, or a particular failure in the proper application of community development methods and processes.

Community development is not the overall process of development of communities, but only that aspect of it which is carried out in accordance with certain principles (to be mentioned later). It appears sometimes to be thought that community development, because it can achieve certain objectives very satisfactorily, can work miracles in all circumstances. Indeed, Hugh Tinker has criticized it in certain countries as a 'philosopher's stone'.[6] To expect community development to achieve certain tasks is like expecting the same bulldozer which will adequately construct a rural feeder road to knock down a large mountain.

Moreover, community development cannot be used just anywhere; it needs certain settled conditions. If there is, for example, a breakdown in law and order this needs to be put right before a community development programme can be started. In some areas no community development programme would have a hope of success without radical reforms which would enable both landlords and tenants to work together harmoniously towards a common goal. Nor is it much use a local authority deciding that it will grant aid to a particular project selected for political reasons and directing a community development worker to stimulate self-help among the people to make up the deficit in grant-

[4] The author was once a district commissioner in a developing country and so writes with some knowledge of the tasks of a field administrator.—*Ed.*

[5] *Community Development in India*, Longman's: *Orient*; p. 25.

[6] *International Affairs*, July 1961, p. 309.

in-aid. Self-help will only come if the people really want the project. Otherwise they will use political methods to try to get the grant increased.

In other words, there must be a possibility of securing, in settled conditions without outside interference, the people's own initiative and self-help before a community development programme can be started. A prime necessity is to realize the limitations of what community development can do. It is more than a series of small local uncoordinated projects or a filling of the gaps left by other services (although it will have a gap-filling role) but equally it is not a panacea for all ills and a cheap means of 'instant' development.

Community development as a philosophy has the somewhat radical approach that the ordinary person has more perception than might be supposed of which new ideas might really work in his normal environment, and that he should therefore have some say in what the planners propose to do for him, as well as a right to be clearly and carefully informed in a way which he understands of what the plans are. Community development realizes that the main protection of the weak against the strong is politeness and the force of inertia. It seeks to make 'yes' mean 'I agree and will do something' rather than 'I have heard you; please go away and leave me in peace'.[7] In a phrase, which is a commonplace in community development circles, but would appear to be less well known in many government offices, community development works with people rather than for people.

Definitions

I have referred above to the U.N. definition of community development, produced in 1956,[8] of which I shall quote only the first two, but key, paragraphs:–

> "The term community development has come into international usage to connote the processes by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress.
>
> This complex of processes is then made up of two essential elements; the participation of the people themselves in efforts to improve their level of living with as much reliance as posible on their own initiative, and the provision of technical and other services in ways which encourage initiative, self-help and mutual help and make these more effective. It is expressed in programmes designed to achieve a wide variety of specific improvements."

Community development is both economic and social; as has been pointed out elsewhere,[9] rural people don't have special (such as economic or political) ways of living. There is a 'way of life' only. Community development is therefore the total approach towards solving problems of a vague way of life. This, indeed, applies to any society; the ordinary citizen does not compartmentalize his needs in the same way as his rulers do their services for him; the irritation of the ordinary individual at having to go to separate post office counters for stamps and postal orders is a case in point.

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[7] On the 'yes' problem and other problems of contact with people, 'Some Points for consideration by Technicians dealing with Villagers,' by Arthur H. Raper, U.S.A.I.D., Washington, is an interesting pamphlet.

[8] U.N. Economic and Social Council, Records of 24th Session (E/2931 Annex. III, p. 14).

[9] International Co-operation Administration, *Community Development Review*, June 1961, p. 19.

However, perhaps for historical reasons connected with the differences in approach of the British Colonial Office and the U.S. Ford Foundation, there is a general tendency (of course there are exceptions) in English-speaking territories in Africa to regard community development as primarily social in content, whereas in Asia it has more of an economic connotation. I have referred to English-speaking because community development has tended to be regarded up to now as more of a British and American concept; there is even some discussion as to which of the two invented the term in its modern technical sense. However, it does seem fairly clear that the British Colonial Office can claim invention of the term, even if it was for export only. It is only of recent years, after proving its worth in practice overseas, that it is beginning to be seen as having relevance to some of the problems in Britain itself.

It was in Britain also (at the Ashridge Conference on Social Development held in 1954 by the British Colonial Office)[10] that the best short definition of community development (originating in Malaya) was adopted and popularized, namely that "community development is a movement designed to promote better living for the whole community, with the active participation and on the initiative of the community." This definition has the advantage that it can be more readily memorized[11] than that of the U.N.

The basic principles of community development

Although this definition is highly compressed it does include all the essential elements of community development. I have tried to put these in three phrases for quick understanding. These are in three separate languages (if one counts American English as different from British English).

(1) *Self-help* (English). This is almost untranslatable into French; *entr'aide* is not quite the same, and at many international conferences on community development, *le self-help* is now used.

(2) *Felt needs* (American). This means the needs which people really feel and not those which we think they ought to feel. Unless people really feel as theirs the real needs which the planners think they have, there is bound to be an inefficiency in the execution of any programme. This is not to say that people may not be made to feel needs; one cannot feel the need for a vacuum cleaner unless one knows that it exists, but the arrival of the salesman makes precise a somewhat vaguely felt desire to minimize the labour of household cleaning.

(3) *La communauté* (*or collectivité*) *totale* (or *globale*) (French). This emphasizes that a community is an interlocking structure, with its own traditions, stresses and strains. To tamper with one section without knowing the probable results upon other sections of it may often lead to disaster.

These three phrases seem to me to sum up the principles of obtaining the objective of better living by looking at the whole community (*la communauté*) and by securing their active participation (self-help) and initiative (felt needs). If these three ingredients are not all present in any action designed to promote better living, then it may be a wholly desirable piece of development (a 400-bed hospital built and staffed, for example, by the Government) but it is not community development in the accepted sense.

These three phrases deal only with those principles which underlie the techniques and method of approach to the people implicit in community

[10] H.M.S.O. Misc. 523.

[11] For the benefit of those interested in the speedy memorization of such definitions I have found that the best results may often be achieved by singing them aloud in unison with others.

development. They may apply as an inherent philosophy of any government plan in its approach to the people, and this is indeed one role of community development in national planning, to act as a philosophy of approach in all items affecting human beings directly.

However, it is necessary to supplement these phrases with some means of explaining to administrators the principles of action underlying this basic philosophy.

Top administrators are busy men, dedicated to the compression of ideas within the smallest possible surface of paper. As non-specialists they also tend to prefer concepts which are easily memorable. One cannot, of course, deal with all the finer points in this way, but it is of prime importance to ensure comprehension of a subject which has very little value unless it is devoted to practical results.

I have accordingly selected three words which seem to me to pack into them as much of the principles of action of community development as is possible. These are *communication*, *co-ordination*, and *sensitivity*. I put them forward, like the phrases above, only as a handy mnemonic for the non-specialist since it is plain that they require fuller explanation in order to be properly understood.

Communication

The word 'communication' is rapidly becoming fashionable in the modern world, not least in industry, as a means of narrowing the gap in understanding between those in the directors' boardroom and the workers on the factory floor. Proper two-way communication is an essential link between planners and planned if progress in development is to be achieved. A national plan may contain a number of items of roughly equal desirability; there seems no reason why the people should not, in their application at local level, be allowed some say in the priorities to be adopted in such cases. Moreover, instances are manifold of plans going wrong because the ideas behind them have not been properly explained to those whom they will affect in a manner which they will understand.

To take an example from a large local authority in the north of England (that well-known underdeveloped area!), it is hardly surprising that people talk of the authority as the mysterious, incomprehensible 'they,' when the only indication to the citizens that the neighbourhood is to be included in a smoke-free zone is a poster in the local branch library (hardly a rallying point for the populace) couched in legal terminology and giving a list of street names bordering the area concerned – but without any kind of map whatsoever.

There seems to be an increasing gulf between the apparently wilful arbitrariness of the 'they' who govern us and the 'we' who do not understand. Mr. Francis Boyd has written[12] about this in Britain, giving examples. "Members of the Government and advisers of the party seem to have forgotten, or not to have taken the trouble to find out, how life looks to the bulk of the ordinary voters." (It is unfortunate that in many cases it does not take long in office for a people's representative to become quite unrepresentative.)

More and more is being learned about the techniques of communication and, indeed, of persuasion, but it is depressing how often one may hear it being said, in effect, "these unintelligent idle people must be made to see what is good

[12] *The Guardian*, Manchester, 26th March 1963.

for them." Shaw has quoted the following from Kolb and Brunner's 'Study of Rural Society' in the Australian Journal of Adult Education:[13]

> "The naive assumption that any group of persons will fall in with any plan about which they have not been consulted . . . has been proved to be false so often . . . that its survival is one of the world's greatest mysteries."

Perhaps it is sometimes the planner rather than the pure academic who inhabits the ivory tower?

In his obituary notice on Lord Beveridge, Kingsley Martin[14] pointed out that the good planner may be a poor administrator because he doesn't understand that action is based upon individuals. No one can accuse the community development worker of ignoring this fact. It is the essence of his subject and his main stock-in-trade is his ability to communicate with people in their own way and to interpret their feelings by catalyzing vague dissatisfactions into useful felt needs which they are prepared to work to satisfy. Plans will only be allowed to work efficiently by the people whom they affect if they both understand and agree with them. This is the importance of 'communication.'

Co-ordination

The second word, 'co-ordination,' is basic to any community development programme. It is alleged that a woman's stiletto heel has the force of fifty times an elephant's foot on the surface area it covers. One must view government activity in the light of this parable. A clumping around of many departments competing for the citizens' attention reminds one of elephants' feet. It certainly may breed apathy or irritation rather than co-operation.

The ordinary citizen is impatient of bureaucratic divisions and may well be confused by them. If one is to make the maximum impact upon him there must be a careful co-ordination of approach. Whether this is undertaken through a specialist community development department or through a team of specialists from various departments is a matter for local decision. Some countries endeavour to ensure this co-ordination by allowing initial contacts with communities to be made by one person only on behalf of the others. The use of such a multipurpose village-level worker has advantages. He is cheaper than a number of workers at that level, he does not confuse the people, he is trained in communication, and he achieves co-ordination by his very existence. On the other hand, there may be some rivalry over who should tell him what to do and when; he may also be expected to have more knowledge than may be realistic of a vast number of subjects. However, whatever system is used the analogy of the stiletto heel in concentrating force to a single point should be remembered.

Sensitivity

Finally, there is the word 'sensitivity.' This is perhaps already comprehended in 'communication' to a certain extent but not completely. Channels of communication can become formalized, and indeed even ossified by time, so that all the apparatus for mutual consultation is there, but no one really uses it any longer – whether from fear of the results of legitimate but unpopular complaints, from the sheer difficulty for the uneducated of carrying out prescribed procedures, or from all the so-called people's representatives having found cosy positions of prestige and power on appropriate committees, which to them may be an end in itself.

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[13] December, 1962.

[14] *New Statesman and Nation*, 22nd March, 1963.

A word is needed to emphasize the constantly evolving human factor and to stress that, as has been well said, "community development is social horticulture rather than social engineering." Perhaps 'humility,' in the Gandhian sense, might be used. What is meant is the ability to see the other person's point of view at all times and to concede that he has a right to a point of view even if it appears to be a wrong one.

On the whole, however, sensitivity conveys the essential third ingredient of a community development programme in action. As the Aloka system of leadership training has tried to emphasize, feelings are facts[15] (whether the feelings are right or wrong) and must be known and coped with. The ordinary person has a right to be listened to (the theory of the 'top man' having a clean desk so that he can always be available to talk with people is, oddly enough, more often encountered in commerce than in government) and he is not merely a statistic or consumer to be manipulated only by subtle mass communications techniques. All this is comprehended in the sensitivity needed by a community development worker (who will also learn to distinguish truth from the distortions caused by flattery, greed or fear); it might almost be a required quality in anyone who has to deal with people.

Thus, we have come from the three-paragraph U.N. definition of this allegedly mystical subject, to a shorter definition, to three phrases, and finally to three words.

Conclusion

The community development approach means a new pattern of administration in its dealings with people in the nation-building fields. It is a new subject, but so are others (such as psychology or sociology) only recently admitted to systematic study in universities. It has borrowed from other older subjects in order to form a new amalgam most suited to people's needs. As Dr. Jack Grey has put it[16] "Community development is a mixture of informal adult education, rural sociology, human psychology and cultural anthropology. In this particular field the multipurpose extension worker must be a specialist." This does not mean that the community development specialist is a jack-of-all-trades and master of none; it merely means that he must be a master of that new blend of knowledge called community development which has taken its ingredients from other fields.

Community development is often slow, but it can be sure; indeed, a subject dedicated to making stable self-reliant communities as well as providing better amenities[17] is something of a Frankenstein's monster – the villagers may themselves begin effectively to question some of the assumptions of those governing them – to the latter's annoyance.

However, if an administrator wishes to be certain that the people will be convinced and carry their conviction to the point of action he could not do better than investigate, as an alternative to laws and rules, the potentialities of community development as one new method in developmental administration.

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[15] *Aloka: The Tide of Learning*, by R. Lynton, Routledge.

[16] 'Community Development Review No. 2', 1956, p. 46, (quoted by T. R. Batten in *Training for Community Development*, O.U.P.).

[17] *Community Development: A Handbook*, H.M.S.O., p. 65.

Community Development, Planning and Administration at Local Level in India

by Shri S. Chakravarti

Devoting a complete issue of the Community Development Review to the conceptual considerations of community development, Louis M. Miniclair has invited academicians "to help broaden the philosophical and technical base of community development." This challenge remains; a clear theoretical formulation has still to emerge. No wonder, the concept means a variety of things for different countries and at different operational levels in the same country.

Policy objectives

The Indian programme has been called a gigantic experiment in planned social change. It is countrywide in character, comprehensive in approach, has multiple objectives of promoting an integrated rural society, an expanding rural economy and a smoothing of the course of essential and inevitable social change. It employs a wide range of means to achieve these objectives. The means include inner resources, namely community organization and self-help, external official agencies and a multi-purpose programme designed to move the whole community in the direction of cohesiveness, co-operative endeavour and decision-making on rational and scientific lines. The approach involves substantial changes in the structure of government, including the establishment of new administrative areas. For the purpose of this article[1] the following definition formulated by the International Co-operation Administration will be adopted:

> "Community development is a process of social action in which the people of a community organize themselves for planning and action; define their common and individual needs and problems; make group and individual plans to meet their needs and solve their problems; execute these plans with a maximum reliance upon community resources; and supplement these resources when necessary with services and material from governmental and non-governmental agencies outside the community."

Adopting this definition Dickson delineates the following basic ideas inherent in the concept;

(*a*) community development is focused on the development of the people;
(*b*) it is a process, not an event;
(*c*) organization is required;
(*d*) it is a dynamic, unified problem-solving approach;
(*e*) education of the people is one of the end-products of community development.

From this follows some of the imperatives of planning and administration at local level, if community development is to achieve its fundamental aim of the

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[1] This article is a reprint of a paper prepared by Shri Chakravarti for the United Nations Conference at Geneva on the application of science and technology for the benefit of less developed areas.

development of the individual and the community. Planning must be a democratic social process aimed at the development of local initiative, local leadership, local functional groups and village organizations, keeping the family as the essential focus. It must be a problem-solving process aimed at the fullest utilization of local resources. It must be a meaningful process comprehensive enough to break through the interlocking vicious circle of underdevelopment and lead to a self-generating growth with increasing opportunities for higher levels of income, consumption and aspiration. Local planning to be successful must integrate the efforts of the people with those of the governmental agencies. Local planning cannot be isolated from national goals. It must, while satisfying local needs, be geared to the fulfilment of national priorities. Implicit in the whole process of planning is the growth of the community gaining enhanced ability to act together.

The community must become a centre of creativity in the larger community of the State and the broad aim of the administrative agencies or change agents is the promotion of this creativity. Recruitment, training, organization, control, encouragement and supervision, technical support and guidance, financial and budgetary patterns, indeed the entire work complex and administrative outlook must subserve and strengthen this purpose.

It is a tribute to the Indian programme that many of these fundamental aspects were in the minds of policy-makers even from the outset. The basic problem has been the translation of these policy objectives into action programmes. The gap still remains.

The village as a planning unit

Right from the beginning the family was regarded as a basic unit for planning and development. Organization of the family and the community for planning and action, definition of goals, systematic plans by individuals and groups to meet the goals, execution of plans on the basis of the mobilization of the physical, economic and social potentialities of the community and increasing aspiration to undertake additional projects are the elements involved. What a step it was from this grand design to the simplification of the process in administrative terms, which took place in the early years of the programme. During this period the family approach was taken to mean merely the number of families contacted by the extension agency or benefiting directly or indirectly by the programme in one way or another. The net result was that impressive statistics were built up showing the number of families approached by the extension agency or benefiting from the construction of a well, a drain, a road or a community centre. In this way it was possible for many village level workers to show that the entire village had been reached by the programme and that the requirements of the planning process had been fully met.

Even if the real implications of the planning process had been understood, the task would not have been simpler. Planning of this type requires a great deal of technical knowledge which the functionaries did not possess and in any case the number of families which a village level worker was required to serve was so large as to rule out any purposive assistance in this regard. National policy was also defective in so far as it did not provide for the required economic programmes for the benefit of the weaker sections of the population. As a result the approach of the village level worker to the community could not but be lopsided. In the light of this experience the family approach was abandoned as administratively impracticable in favour of a planned effort by the village

as a whole, but the emphasis continued to be on administrative make-believe rather than on the essence of planning. A series of schedules and questionnaires to be filled by the villagers were promptly produced and the village level worker concentrated on getting them completed mechanically. The result was the production of a register of demands from the villages unrelated to the maximum use of local resources or the limited resources expected to be available from higher echelons.

During the last few years the approach to village planning has been somewhat rationalized, but undue emphasis still continued on non-local resources like fertilizers. This limited the entire planning effort to about three months in the year, as the availability of outside resources could not be made known earlier than February or March each year and the process had to be completed before the sowing season in June or July. However, this effort clarified the real role of local agencies, like functional groups, village councils (panchayats), co-operatives and progressive farmers, in the planning effort. The later decision to divide the village production plan into two parts, programmes based on self-aid and village community effort and programmes based on outside resources supplemented by the resources of farmers brought the whole process into the correct focus.

In effect the village plan became an exercise to draw all the cultivators into the common effort and at the same time to make available to individual farmers in an efficient and organized manner the credit, the supplies and other assistance needed. The elements today in plan formulation and execution are briefly:

(*a*) the formation of an agricultural production committee of the village council (panchayat) consisting of representatives of the panchayat, co-operative, progressive farmers, schoolteachers and so on;

(*b*) collection of basic data by the committee for the preparation of the draft plan;

(*c*) identification of items of production programmes to be undertaken in the course of the agricultural season;

(*d*) selection of participating cultivators together with progressive farmers for each item;

(*e*) consideration of the completed plan by all the heads of the families in the village (gram sabha) and follow-up action on the part of the village level worker, extension officers, block development officers, district agricultural officers and so on.

The association of the gram sabha provided a broad base for the entire effort of the village, but this institutional device alone cannot be a substitute for programmes which would involve or attract the participation of the economically weaker sections of the rural population and the ideal of every family becoming a member of a co-operative in its own right is still remote.

The planning effort is broadly crystallizing in the village in three stages – continuous effort in the preparation of village plans including particularly agricultural production and fuller utilization of available manpower, preparation of annual plans and preparation of five year plans.

Creation of the block as a planning unit

Above the village is the block. The administrative unit for most purposes has hitherto been the district. The average district consists of a population of 1.2 to 1.5 million covering an area of 3000 to 4000 square miles. This unit was unwieldy and too remote from the village people for effective and intensive

working. The community development programme therefore led to the creation of a new unit of planning and development, called the community development block, comprising an area of 250 square miles with a population of nearly 80,000. At the block level is provided a generalist trained administrator known as block development officer. He is the head of a team of technical experts known as extension officers in the fields of agriculture, animal husbandry, health, rural engineering, industries, co-operation, panchayats[2] (local government), social education for men and women separately. Extension officers are graduates of universities and trained in extension techniques and methods. At the district level similar co-ordination is provided by the collector,[3] who co-ordinates the work of the district technical officers and exercises administrative control over them.

The focus of the integrated work at the block and district level is the block and district plans. The block plan comprises the village plans viewed as a whole and co-ordinated in addition to development programmes for which the block is directly responsible. Basically it covers a minimum programme in the fields of agriculture (including minor irrigation, soil conservation and animal husbandry), rural industries, development of co-operatives, elementary education, rural water supply and a programme of minimum rural amenities (including health, approach roads and so on).

The concept of the block as a unit of planning and development envisaged the pooling of all development funds at that level, including not only the schematic budget, but departmental funds and local community effort. The block was to act as the common agent for all departments in the field of development both for planning and implementation of programmes, evolving technically sound block and village plans and executing them efficiently. The district plan is in part a summation of block plans and in part a programme of activities affecting the district as a whole or areas comprising more than one block. The district plan sets the tone for development work in the district as a whole, ensuring co-ordinated working of different blocks, laying down priorities of work and establishing correct relationships between the technical and administrative services and the elected representatives at each level.

The acceptance of the concept of the block as the chief operational unit of planning and development was, however, slow in coming. To start with the administrative pattern was developed on the basis of a single line organization consisting of the development commissioner at the state level, collector at the district level, block development officer at the block level and village level worker at the village level. The exclusive attention given during the early years to the block programme financed from the schematic budget, the entire reliance placed on the block staff for its execution and the treating of the block organization as an almost self-contained set-up controlled by the development commissioner, kept the technical departments at arms length. It was only slowly realized that unless the technical departments were brought squarely into the programme and the block developed as their common agency the objectives of the programme could not be realized. This brought to the fore the problem or co-ordination at the level of policy-making and at the level of execution in the field.

At the policy level state governments have set up co-ordination committees

[2] See *J.L.A.O.*, Vol. 1, No. 4, p. 201, for an article on panchayati raj.

[3] See *J.L.A.O.*, Vol. 2, No. 2, p. 75, for an article on the present and future role of the collector.

both at minister's and official level for the purpose of taking an integrated view of development programmes and taking decisions jointly. However, earlier habits die hard, and the approach of departments is still governed by historical developments in respect of each department and its capacity to spend. In spite of these deficiencies, co-ordination at policy level is fairly well established, even though joint planning in the real sense, that of taking an integrated view of the requirements of the rural sector, has still to take shape. At the implementation level the compulsions of the programme, namely inadequacy of the schematic budget, the need for co-ordination, the importance of pooling the resources of all development departments, the inadequacy of technical content and technical support militating against efficient and economical operation of programmes, led to the acceptance of the principle of team work and joint responsibility, but brought in the problem of dual control.

Dual control of implementation arose from administrative or operational control of technical officers by the collector or the block development officer and their technical control by their parent departments. The problem of ensuring unity of outlook of work at different levels has been eased by combined training and such devices as staff meetings, co-ordination meetings, combined tours and more recently by giving the district technical officers a measure of control over the block development officer in regard to the assessment of his work. Complete unity of approach has yet to be achieved, but the introduction of panchayati raj (local government) at higher tiers has led to varying solutions of the problems.

Effect of plans on local development

Has the plan effort at the different levels stimulated the local potential for growth? The answer is yet a hesitant 'yes.' To start with the emphasis was on welfare rather than wealth, on amenities rather than on productive activities. The contribution of the people in terms of labour, land, material and cash on this account has, however, been substantial. During the first five year plan, as against a government expenditure of Rs.462 million, the people's contribution amounted to Rs.251 million. During the second plan, as against the total government expenditure of Rs.1,889 million, the people's contribution was Rs.771 million. In other words, nearly 45 per cent. of the total expenditure was met by the people.

A stage was, however, soon reached when the enthusiasm and participation of the people tended to become static. The transfer of power was only a partial answer to the problem; many fundamental difficulties still remained. Democratic social planning involves free choice, but until the ownership structure of resources in the villages radically alters and the weaker sections come into their own with better opportunities as producers or wage earners, planning cannot become meaningful to them. Over the last decade the community development programme has provided the framework of development; it has yet to provide the substance and realize the fundamental objectives of increased production and employment, thereby making an impact on the problem of rural poverty. Even so, the extent to which the potential for development in agriculture, in manpower utilization, in rural industrialization and more generally in raising the levels of productivity will be realized, will depend to a significant degree on the manner in which integrated planning is undertaken at the district, block and village levels.

One assumption of local planning is that once it succeeds in a particular

sector, the successful experience would provide the base for additional projects being undertaken by the community on their own initiative to improve their economic position. However, a study made of economic change in a fringe village near Delhi shows that rationality all along the line cannot be automatically assumed, as the following quotation from the study will show:–

"The history of the introduction of raising vegetables for the market has revealed that the ahirs responded favourably to the new economic opportunity. They are well aware of the economic advantage and profit value of vegetable-growing. They have also responded favourably to many of the programmes of agricultural development of the community development organization. They built wells for irrigation, installed Persian wheels to lift water, improved their lands and got better seeds and manure. The favourable responses to these two new economic opportunities exhibit an element of rationality.

A co-operative society of vegetable growers was organized by the ahirs of a neighbouring village in which a few ahirs of Samepur also took part. They became members but they could not hold their interest in the society for long because of the fight for leadership positions, with the result that the society became defunct after two years. This is another instance where rationality, although short-lived, found a place.

Ahirs, therefore, show a fair degree of rational realization of the economic advantages of vegetable gardening. But the means they adopt is inefficient. . . . . The ahirs of Samepur not only do all the agricultural tasks necessary in the growing of vegetables, but also carry basket-loads of harvested vegetables in horse-drawn carts to Subzi Mandi, sell their goods through a broker and return home after collecting cash. They do not orient their choices in growing different vegetables to the behaviour of prices. They do not keep any accounts. There is little productive re-investment of savings. Hence their organization of economic activities with respect to vegetable market-gardening is more traditional and less rational."

This study reinforces the view that unless the programme can impart further impulses to innovation, self-propelling changes cannot be assumed. Social planning has, therefore, a continuing creative role to play.

The broad objective that local plans should become a distinctive stage in the preparation of the five year and annual plans is still to be achieved. Local planning has yet to develop into an organic process providing a picture of the activities, institutions and measures co-ordinated into a coherent whole at different levels, drawing on local resources to the maximum extent supported by government resources and technical assistance, influencing plan formulation at higher levels and carrying out policies embodied in the national plans efficiently and economically. The plans at the district level and below still represent a mechanical break-up of the state plan and have yet to provide an answer to the problem of coherence between local and national plans. However, the acceptance of the principle of partnership and co-operation in planning between the Government and the village has been a significant step and local planning will provide an important means for the effective implementation of state plans.

Finally, though planning techniques at different levels are still in the process of evolution, they have made a not insignificant contribution in terms of bringing into focus the relationship between science and life. The flow of science to the people has to be organized at different levels – research institutions,

professional schools for training, countrywide posting of professional people and the establishment of a link between professional agents and the people. By organizing a countrywide programme based on extension education, by creating an extension agency at the block level, by developing a new multi-purpose village functionary and by its promotion of democratic institutions of the people, the community development programme has filled the gap which existed earlier at the last two levels, and through the continuous process of discussion of common problems, formulation of plans, execution of programmes and so on, it is slowly but steadily leading to changes in attitudes to saving, income and work, literacy and receptivity to science and technology.

Changing problems of local administration

Brief reference has already been made to the administrative set-up at the local level. Four significant features introduced by the community development programme of crucial relevance at the local level may be mentioned:–

(*a*) transformation of the existing administrative cadres of government into welfare cadres, forming a vast extension agency at various levels and getting people to solve their problems through education and persuasion. The acceptance of the educational method constitutes a major change in the relationship between the state, its civil servants and the people;

(*b*) establishment of a line of operational responsibility right down to the village level worker;

(*c*) principle of joint responsibility and team work in regard to the total task of development at various levels;

(*d*) development of the block as the common agent of technical departments.

These changes brought to the fore many basic problems at the local level – the role of technical and administrative services, the need for co-ordinated working through various devices as well as between the official and non-official agencies, the role of supervision, the need for delegation of comparable responsibilities to all field agencies and an uninterrupted flow of intelligence data from the field to the higher echelons and vice versa.

These problems highlight the fundamental change that has taken place in the objectives of administration. The test of good administration is no more its capacity to maintain law and order but its ability to work with the people, to replace the belief among them that poverty is preordained by the belief that hard work can help in eradicating it, to give them organized assistance and help them to tackle the problems of rural development. All this involves fundamental changes in social attitudes. This has necessitated a revolutionary change in the outlook and approaches of administrators and a realization that communal development is not an ordinary piece of administration.

Although the objectives of administration have changed, it is not yet realized that the nature of administration has not; this is to ensure that whatever policy is laid down by the authority competent to do so is transmitted to the remotest corner with speed and implemented loyally and faithfully. The very size of the programme, the rapid growth of the staff, the increase in supervisory personnel, and the problem of dual control militated against this understanding and resulted in multiplicity of lines of command, duplication of work, thinness of technical content of programmes and general confusion. What was worse was the blocking of lines of communication between the top and village level, leading to dilution in the transmission of thinking and policy and in administrative effort at the local level. Thus, early experience, whether in the field of

agricultural production or co-operation, was that by the time the policy of government was translated into reality, a consciousness of mere numerical targets overtook the need for quality. It was not fully realized that the qualities of service, of organizational competence and of resources used for instance in agriculture can be telling factors, as the analysis of Prof. Theodore Schultz of the phenomenal increase in agricultural production in the United States between 1940-1958 clearly shows.

Various steps have been taken from time to time to remedy these deficiencies and there is now greater awareness of the need for organizational efficiency, an uninterrupted chain of responsibility in technical and administrative matters reaching down to the village, and open and mutually-influencing lines of communication. These principles embodied in administrative procedures must become an inconspicuous habit, a part of normal practice. It requires continuous care and attention to fashion a machine that will respond to the new impulses of a government dedicated to the task of improving the lot of the common man; a good administrative machine does not happen automatically.

The introduction of panchayati raj

In 1957 the Government of India appointed a study team to study the impact of the community development programme upon the people and to make an assessment of the organizational structure and methods of work. This team recommended the creation of an interconnected system of people's institutions at the level of the village, the block and the district. It also recommended that there should be genuine transfer of power and responsibility to these institutions, that adequate resources should be transferred to them, that all development programmes at these levels should be channelled through them and that the system evolved should be such as would facilitate progressive devolution and dispersal of power and responsibility in the future.

The Government of India accepted the recommendations of the study team and is implementing the programme of democratic decentralization or panchayati raj. Because of the wide diversity of conditions that prevail in India, there are considerable variations in details from one state government to another, but a broad pattern runs through the core which is indicated below.

The village panchayat is a statutory body embracing one or more villages with an average population of 1500 and an average area of about six square miles. The members of a village panchayat are elected by the entire adult population of the village generally through secret ballot. The number of members of a panchayat is on an average 12. At the head of the panchayat is its chairman, known as president, who is either elected by the members of the panchayat or directly by the whole population of the village.

The next tier is at the level of the block (panchayat samiti). The panchayat samiti generally consists of presidents of all the panchayats in a block and such others to whom special representation may be given, such as backward classes, women, co-operative societies, or local members of state legislatures. In some states members of panchayat samitis are directly elected. The president of the panchayat samiti is elected by all the members of the samiti from amongst themselves.

The district council (zila parishad) is generally composed of the presidents of all panchayat samitis in the district, the government representative in the district, that is the collector, local members of the state legislature and parliament and a few persons representing special interests or experiences. In one

state, legislation provides for direct election to the zila parishad. The president of the zila parishad is elected by the members from amongst themselves, though in one or two states the collector is the *ex-officio* president.

Decentralisation is being effected in two ways, through legislation and statutory rules, and through delegation of powers by the state government or higher panchayati raj institutions.

A participating democracy, such as India is trying to build, entails still wider involvement of the people in the programmes of social and economic development. This is possible only through organized voluntary effort. Organizations of women, youth, children, artisans, farmers, known as 'associate organizations,' take up responsibility in varying degrees for implementing development programmes on behalf of the statutory panchayati raj institutions. Similarly voluntary organizations of all-India character or with state-wide ramifications work in collaboration with the representative institutions to implement mutually agreed programmes. Members of both these types of organizations can be co-opted as members of functional sub-committees of the panchayati raj bodies at the village, block and district levels.

The establishment of representative institutions of the people of these three levels fills the vacuum below the level of the state legislature in the democratic set-up of the country. With wider participation by the people the programmes involving economic and social changes are expected to be implemented more speedily. The working of the local government system is creating greater opportunities for political education and assisting in the better formulation and implementation of local plans, raising of resources, maintenance of assets, better co-ordination of activities as well as close supervision over the governmental machinery at the various levels. It is also helping to establish an effective two-way communication between the citizens and the state.

Changes in local administration resulting from panchayati raj

The changes in the local administrative structure, techniques and objectives ushered in by panchayati raj can now be stated.

Firstly, civil servants who were hitherto accountable only to the state governments, by whom they were appointed, have now been made responsible to the new institutions. However, unlike the British system where, for instance, the county clerk holds office during the pleasure of the county council, senior categories of personnel still continue to be borne on the state cadres. In many states, the officers are also serving the state government while serving the local bodies.

Secondly, with panchayati raj, the civil servants at these levels have moved from the pure realm of administration to the realm of politics. This has emphasized the need for a proper appreciation of the respective roles of the elected representatives and the civil servants and understanding and harmony between them. Comprehensive training and education programmes and the establishment of healthy conventions in the working of these institutions have become crucial.

Thirdly, panchayati raj has to function within the general scheme of administration, and the development of the competence and prestige of the local authority has to be ensured without affecting the integrity of the structure of technical and administrative services and their ability to fulfil the responsibilities cast on them. This has thrown up the need for a system of built-in safeguards against arbitrary and discriminatory action on the part of local bodies.

Fourthly, the system has highlighted the need for the growth in competence of technical functionaries, the test of service in their case depending not on the authority which they exercise, but on the depth of professional wisdom and experience which they can bring to bear on problems.

Fifthly, the role of supervision has become crucial. The basic problem for any country establishing a system of local government is how to ensure that the system manages to fulfil three obligations simultaneously; these are – to develop as independent centres of creativity within the state, to foster political understanding and participation by the people in their own programmes and in the programmes of the state, and to ensure that these programmes and policies are carried out effectively and according to proper standards by the local units. Basically the problem is one of striking a balance between the development of the panchayati raj system as an institution capable of balanced decision-making in which the maximum number of people are involved and the need to ensure that the system is implementing state policies and programmes efficiently and maintaining and even improving the standards laid down by the technical departments. Supervision in this context becomes a positive activity providing guidance and encouragement so that the panchayati raj system can grow to full maturity. There is, however, no agreement yet on the appropriate agency for supervision.

Finally, the relationship between panchayati raj and community development has to be clearly understood to give meaning and focus to local planning and administration. In his address to the annual conference of development commissioners held in July 1961, Shri V. T. Krishnamachari referred to this matter in the following words:

> "The essence of community development is that the movement should always be a peoples' movement, based on self-help and co-operation, and enlisting their creative energies in the task of raising their own living standards. It should always retain its dynamism. The main initiative for this rests with the members of the block and district samitis, assisted by voluntary organizations and workers in all areas. They should devote continuous attention to organizing new panchayats and co-operatives and improving them and the existing ones, so that within a short time every family would be represented on at least one co-operative society in its own right. Through these bodies, they should get improvement programmes accepted and implemented by all families. Special assistance should be given to the economically weaker families in order that they may get the full benefits of the improvement schemes. In other words, a sense of social responsibility should be created."

Unless panchayati raj can, by a clear definition of the role of political leaders and administrators, create harmony and balance between the two, inculcate a sense of social responsibility, promote the needed economic and social reforms and assume leadership of the community as a whole, it cannot be the means, as it is intended to be, of achieving community development.

Land Acquisition for the Bornu Railway Extension in Northern Nigeria

by J. R. N. MARSHALL

A RAILWAY extension 400 miles long is under construction in Northern Nigeria from a point 22 miles south of Jos to Maiduguri, about 90 miles south of Lake Chad.[1] Obtaining the land for this, although passing largely unnoticed except by people on the spot, has been quite an interesting preliminary to the engineering work.

Land acquisition for public purposes is becoming increasingly intricate in underdeveloped territories. As a society develops in sophistication, and as population density increases, land becomes more and more a commodity with a cash value, and (subject to legal restrictions) saleable, whereas at an earlier stage of social evolution it tends to be regarded rather like air, or water in the river – an asset of general utility but not belonging to or saleable by an individual. This evolution of a concept of land having a cash value is a very long one, but in Northern Nigeria, although it started far back in history, it has advanced greatly in recent years. Thus the comparatively rough and ready methods which were adequate for taking over land in the main era of railway building from 1896 to 1932 are no longer appropriate. On the other hand, obtaining about 10,000 acres (including areas required only temporarily) spread over 400 miles is liable to be a slow and administratively costly undertaking. Cheap it certainly has not been on the Bornu railway extension, but on many occasions speed has been essential.

At the beginning, the contractors got away to a very quick start, and the people concerned with the land had great difficulty in keeping ahead of them. In other cases, changes of route were decided upon while the work was in progress. Anything causing the contractors to be held up would have involved very heavy costs. Even today, land in most parts of Northern Nigeria is cheap compared with the cost of arbitration and, as elsewhere in Africa, farmers are becoming increasingly aware of the value not only of land, but of economic trees, and are becoming thoroughly 'boundary-conscious,' so the job has had to be done thoroughly, with survey work of a high standard.

To do this over four hundred miles of territory, much of it away from roads, whilst minimizing the administrative costs, has called for quite elaborate planning. Although railway building may soon be a thing of the past in Africa (and this is by no means certain), similar problems may arise in future on the construction of motorways, so the experience of this instance may be of interest to others besides those who took part in it.

Legal and survey arrangements for occupation of land for railway extension

According to Section 4 of the Land Tenure Law of 1962 (which for the present purpose substantially repeats the old Land and Native Rights Ordinance of 1916 and its various amendments), all lands in the Northern Region are 'native lands' except for a few very small areas which do not affect the railway

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[1] The route is indicated on the map at the end of this article, Appendix 1.

extension. According to Section 5 such native lands " . . . are under the control and subject to the disposition of the (Regional) Minister (of Land and Survey) and shall be held and administered for the use and common benefit of the natives . . ." This land can be occupied under a right of occupancy which may be either statutory, under a certificate of occupancy, or customary, whereby natives use land in accordance with native law and custom. Statutory tenure under a certificate of occupancy is akin to a leasehold. In either case the Minister may revoke the right of occupancy if, *inter alia*, the land is required for public purposes, compensation being paid for improvements and disturbances. Under Section 31 of the Nigerian Railway Corporation Ordinance, the requirements of the corporation count as 'public purposes' in this context. Under Section 21 of the Ordinance the corporation is empowered to occupy any land for constructing or operating a railway or for ancillary purposes, compensation being payable to any previous occupiers.

Section 21 has been used as the authority for occupying the land in the first instance, whilst applications for certificates of occupancy are being made after completion of the construction. Part of the land occupied is not needed permanently; it is used, for example, for quarries, borrow-pits, camps or access roads, and it has not always been possible to determine the area permanently required until after the construction in the area concerned, whilst the survey requirements for the issue of a certificate of occupancy cannot be met until completion of the track, or at least the earthworks.

Thus the operation has been conducted in two phases – a fast-moving lands team working ahead of the construction, carrying out such activities as demarcation and compensation, and obtaining occupancy under Section 21 of the Railway Corporation Ordinance, and another survey unit following the engineering operations, producing the final plans on which certificates of occupancy are issued. The land not required permanently reverts to its original occupiers, who have received compensation for its damaged state and for their temporary eviction.

The regional government has offered, as a form of assistance to the construction, to make the issue of certificates of occupancy rent free and for an indefinite term. Ordinarily land for commercial or other purposes attracts rent and is held for a fixed period of years which may be related to the value of improvements, such as buildings, to be put on it. For the 150 ft. wide strip for the through line, a separate certificate of occupancy is to be issued for each part which falls on one sheet of the 1:50,000 topographical maps of Nigeria. The centre line of the track is plotted from Nigeria Colony Survey co-ordinates at the tangent points of all curves, the distance between these points being measured after completion of construction so that not only do the tangent point beacons become survey stations, but the chainage along each section becomes an accurate reference. These measurements could not be taken from the original engineering data – the distances along the top of the prepared formation differ from those along the unprepared ground – whilst minor lateral variations have crept in during the construction. Thus the advanced lands team has used the chainages of the original engineering survey for its references whilst the rear survey party are producing another set, conversion tables being prepared to relate the two.

Each area permanently required outside the 150 ft. strip is to be held on a separate certificate of occupancy, each site for a station, permanent quarry, borehole, major bridgehead or building being 'tied' to the centre line of the

through track, the point being located by measurement along the track and quoted as a 'chainage,' this being in effect a derived survey station. In addition, boundaries of main depot stations (Bauchi, Gombe and Maiduguri) are cross-checked to the Nigeria Colony Survey, adjustments being made, as necessary.

In the ordinary way an applicant for a certificate of occupancy submits plans 'tied' to any convenient reference point and subsequently the ministry's staff make the final survey, the cost of this being charged to the occupant. To simplify this procedure on the extension, the lands officer (a chartered surveyor), an engineer on the staff of the corporation, and a surveyor employed by the consulting engineers, have been appointed supernumerary government surveyors, at a shilling a year each, so that plans submitted by them can legally be accepted without further field work by ministry staff. At the time of writing, the track has been completed to Gombe, a little more than half-way to Maiduguri, and the final survey is going on behind the railhead. On the other hand, the advanced lands team has finished its main task. Its work has consisted of three operations.

The work of the advanced lands team

In the first place, the land required has been pegged out. For the through line this was done by an engineer using data provided by the consulting engineers (Messrs. Rendel, Palmer & Tritton, of London) consisting of plans at 400 ft. to one inch, and beacons put in on the centre line at regular intervals and at tangent points of curves. Wooden pegs were put in at 100 ft. intervals along the centre line, and others offset 75 feet each side of it at 1000 ft. intervals, and at the tangent points. The boundaries of stations and other sites adjacent to the track were also pegged. Boundaries of temporary sites, such as camps and quarries, were marked with temporary beacons of various sorts – often large whitewashed bush sticks – by whoever required the site, be it the railway or contractor. Occasionally this was done by the lands officer, but only under protest. If those who wanted the land pegged it and produced a sketch plan, there was less chance of argument if in the end they did not have enough, or did not have it where they wanted it !

Secondly, durable beacons have been put in on the pegged boundaries of the 150 ft. strip at 1,000 ft. intervals and at the tangent points of curves, and also on the boundaries of other permanent sites. These beacons consist of eight-foot lengths cut from rails recovered from the defunct Bauchi Light Railway, a narrow-gauge line which used to trickle from Jos to Zaria and of which a couple of locomotives and a few items of rolling stock now adorn the grounds of the Jos Museum. These rail posts are painted distinctively and bear chainage numbers. They have been concreted two feet into the ground with the aid of a post-hole digger mounted on a Ferguson tractor which also, with a trailer, has moved posts and cement from dumps, and carried water, sand and other materials for this demarcation unit, which has formed part of the lands team.

The third operation has been a 'farm survey,' producing detailed plans of all occupancies on a scale of one inch to 100 ft. with all trees, buildings, crops and other items recorded. All these have been valued, and ownerships verified, agreements reached with the persons dispossessed, and compensation paid. This has been carried out by two officers. On the railway side there was and still is the lands officer, also in general charge of the team, and until last June, an administrative officer of the regional government posted for this work and for general liaison duties between the Nigeria Railway Corporation, with its con-

sultants and contractors on the one hand, and government departments, native authorities and the public on the other. In addition, each native authority has provided a representative to work with the lands team in its area. These representatives are paid by their native authorities but receive a small allowance from the corporation. The principle is that although they are assisting the corporation, they are also looking after local interests. For the same reason the administrative officer was posted to the railway extension, but not seconded to the corporation.

Assessment and payment of compensation

For the assessment, the district and village heads have been notified in advance of a farm survey in their areas, and asked to arrange for the farmers to meet the team on the trace. The boundaries of farms within the area required have been sorted out and surveyed in and the names of all occupants and owners established and recorded. The native authority representative, the district head (usually by representative) and the village head assisted in this and there has usually been a considerable number of interested spectators. The aim has been to carry out this operation in public to ensure that no false claims would go unchallenged. The survey of the 150 ft. strip or any other narrow areas has been carried out by offsets, but for wide areas tachiometery has been used. Then after preparation of the plan, areas have been calculated and proposed values for compensation inserted in a valuation form.

For the 150 ft. strip, plans each covering 1,000 feet of route have been used, the outlines of the acquisition boundaries being duplicated (straight and curves) to save time on the drawing board. Since these and the valuation forms are of foolscap size unfolded, and voucher forms once folded are the same size (ten payments to a form), most records can be kept in ordinary Roneo files with multiple folding only needed for plans of large sites. After insertion of proposed values in the assessment forms, the administrative officer has then gone back to the villages, together with the native authority representative, seen the farmers and others concerned, and reached final agreement on the amounts of compensation to be paid. Every detail has been shown – land, crops, economic trees, wells, buildings, fences, and (in some areas) pagan shrines; also all roads, cattle routes and so on have been marked on the plans to assist in ensuring that crossings are erected wherever necessary.

In preparation of assessment forms, considerable care has had to be taken to ensure that each person's full name, his father's name and hamlet are given, as many people bear the same names. Nicknames have been used to distinguish between, say, three people called Mohammadu son of Ahmadu in the same hamlet. Although there has been some argument and bargaining, there has been very little serious dispute as to the amounts to be paid, and not a single case has had to go to arbitration. The administrative officer has taken the line that it is better to value a little on the high side than to slow up the operation with disputes, owing to the high cost of maintaining the team in the field.

After completion of the assessment, the corporation or contractor has been given authority to go ahead and occupy the land. Vouchers have been prepared on forms which include, under the receipt part, declarations indemnifying the corporation against further claims in respect of the items specified. Payment, witnessed by the representatives of the native authority and district head and the village head, has been made by the lands officer in the presence of the administrative officer. Again, publicity has been the key note, the payout

usually taking place under a tree in the middle of the village. Complaints at this stage have therefore been rare, and only one attempt at fraudulent impersonation was detected, resulting in a prison sentence. On each voucher the native authority representatives have certified that the payees were the correct persons to receive the money, the administrative officer certifying that he had inspected the land and the improvements, and that the amount assessed was fair, reasonable and agreed with the payees.

In some cases crops have belonged to persons other than the holders of rights of occupancy in the land, and trees can be owned by yet further people. In the case of unfarmed bush the Minister has ordered (as he was entitled to do under Section 35 (3) of the Land Tenure Law) that the holder entitled to compensation for land should be the local community, and that compensation should be paid to the funds of the district council concerned. As this land has been unimproved, the rate has been low, varying from 35s. to 50s. an acre according to density of population. This has covered communal rights to sylvan produce, grazing, hunting, and ultimate farming. In the case of forest reserves, compensation has been paid to native authorities to be earmarked for alternative forestry operations. For this the rate has varied between £3.10s. and £5 an acre. Copies of receipts, including supporting plans, have been lodged with the ministry, with Residents of provinces (now provincial commissioners) and native authorities, the originals being retained by the corporation.

Occupation of land for ancillary purposes

The operation started early in 1958. By September 1961 most of the work affecting land permanently required was completed. This included about 21 miles of 'relocations' where the route was changed at the last minute. Apart from land for the line, however, the ancillary items were (and still are) important. Major items among these include five important quarries (one of the smaller of which involved paying compensation to 120 persons on an area of 60 acres, nearly a third of which was a rock outcrop with no claims); three major stations, the largest being of 400 acres, and completely covered with small farms and orchards attracting compensation of about £13,000; 29 wayside stations; and a bridge site of nearly 400 acres. Lesser items were three cattle railing points, and a very large number of camps, access roads, borrow pits, stream diversion areas, and so on, together with permanent housing sites and water installations. Most of this was complete by June 1962, but there is still plenty of work for the small team which remains.

Station areas include land for trading plots with siding access. The Minister has agreed that the corporation can have this, and let it in plots to commercial concerns, at controlled rents similar to those charged by government. This is to enable the railway to insist, through a clause in the lease, that only people who provide traffic can have or retain the plots. The sidings are provided free by the corporation. In the case of industrial layouts, the plots are leased by government, the corporation providing feeder lines at government expense, but the tenant paying for spurs and track inside the factory area.

Many of these miscellaneous sites are temporary. Where they are wanted for more than a few months, and any buildings of appreciable value are built on them, certificates of temporary occupancy have been taken out from provincial offices, but for things like borrow pits, Section 21 of the Nigerian Railway Corporation Ordinance has been relied on as sufficient authority for very temporary occupation. There have been hundreds of items of this sort. In the

early stages of the construction an attempt was made to economize on compensation for temporary sites by paying for crops and other items, plus a year's annual disturbance, payable again if the site was wanted for more than one farming season. Then on quittance, damage was valued and paid for. It soon became apparent that the saving in compensation was usually less than the cost of re-surveying damage, and the practice was adopted of paying in full when the land was wanted, and of telling farmers that any sites abandoned were theirs again – if they were any use. Usually, by the time a site had been churned up by heavy machinery, littered with temporary building plinths, or scattered with quarry debris, it was not fit for much.

Legally, temporary quarrying could have been carried out under licences to take building materials, instead of certificates of temporary occupancy. As the licences could only be issued by the ministry in Kaduna and could not cover sites for the buildings needed in association with the quarries, this practice was not adopted; it would still have necessitated applications to Residents in respect of building sites. The compensation would have been the same either way.

Luckily, very few mining leases were involved. On the Jos plateau the line just managed to miss most of the tin mining areas. The few involved were compensated for on the basis of the anticipated profits on the tin that could have been extracted but for the railway, the Federal Ministry of Mines and Power providing the data.

The lands team at work

The three units of the advanced lands team have worked well in front of the construction. In the beginning they had to work very hard to get ahead. Apart from the four officers, there were survey assistants, chainmen, clerks, tracers, drivers and labourers, who totalled about sixty men at one stage. In Plateau and Bauchi Provinces the team could be based on depot stations, but in Bornu a self-contained camp in temporary buildings was set up. The main difficulty was over transport. The work, of course, had to be done on foot, the field parties sleeping in hamlets as they could find them. Land rovers and Ferguson tractors with trailers were the only transport of any value. Maintenance was a problem with continuous cross-country running but the team had its own mechanic. As far as possible, the main field work was done in the dry seasons. During the rains the team dealt with urgent contractor's requirements and took its leave. The entire acquisition through Bornu – 133 miles – was done in one season. The engineer doing the pegging cleared a trace, in addition to what he needed for his sight lines, just fit to get land rovers through, a dozen or so labourers bushing about two miles a day. Four land rovers were needed constantly, and at one stage, when mostly old vehicles were being used, a total strength of six or seven was needed to have four on the road. Obtaining spares was of course a constant headache. Also finding good enough drivers, who could keep their vehicles going through almost impossible conditions, was by no means easy.

Despite the difficulties and the long hours working out in the sun, morale has remained good throughout. The lands team, from the survey assistants down to the bushing gangs, have usually been the most cheerful people working on the extension – perhaps because they have had the toughest assignment. As the work has been reduced to minor and temporary acquisitions, most of the field staff have been redeployed, and the reduced team is still kept hard at it and will continue to be so until the line is completed, and may be longer, as part

of their work is now making a detailed record including valuation of all corporation property on the extension and of tenancies on it. This kind of work will not finish with the construction. The field team is now down to one officer, two sub-inspectors of lands, two chainmen and two drivers. At times the 'spread' of the work has covered the whole 400 miles at once, but by now the team seldom has to travel more than a hundred miles each side of its base.

Compensation calculations

The table of compensation figures (Appendix I) is largely self-explanatory. The wide variations in rates paid reflect differences in population densities. The line begins on the densely-populated Jos plateau area, where there is extensive tin-mining. From the edge of this plateau it drops sharply through a sparsely-populated district of Pankshin Division to Bauchi Province. Within this province population densities vary enormously. Bauchi and Gombe towns have grown very much of recent years and, although figures of the recent census are not yet obtainable, their urban populations may well be in the region of 40,000 each. Gombe is the centre of an important cotton-growing area. Then the Gongola river forms the boundary not only between Bauchi and Bornu Provinces but from relatively thick to very sparse population. Much of Bornu is deficient in available water. Maiduguri is the name commonly given to the whole urban area of Yerwa and Maiduguri, although in fact Maiduguri was originally the name of a village in which the Government station was built outside Yerwa town. Administratively, the main town is still Yerwa and appears thus in the table. The total urban population of Yerwa, including Maiduguri, is about 100,000. Population densities are clearly indicated in the relative percentages of farmland and 'native authority bush' (unfarmed land for which communal compensation is payable) and in the prices paid per acre.

These densities often change sharply at divisional or district boundaries. The sharpness of these divisions is the result of differing population pressures being confined by political boundaries, as well as by water availability. Legally, there is nothing to stop people migrating from one division to another, but in practice people are reluctant to make such moves, preferring to remain in their tribal environment. They are, however, discouraged from living in their own areas and farming in others. Native authorities usually argue that although they do not object to immigrants, if a man wishes to farm in their area he should move house and become a local taxpayer. This restriction is not invariably applied, but is sufficiently common to be regarded as a substantial contributory factor in the containment of farming operations within administrative boundaries.

The principle followed in valuing rural farmland is to multiply the average gross annual value of crops grown by a factor varying according to the ease of obtaining alternative land, and weighting this by taking into account the cost of clearing fresh land (according to the density of the bush). This factor has varied between 2 and 8. In the Jos plateau area, and around towns where there is no spare land, deals between local people have been used as a basis. Despite the provisions of the law, 'purchase' and 'sale' of land takes place fairly freely in fully-occupied areas, the transactions, in law at least, covering 'improvements and disturbances' since the land is not freehold. Planted fruit trees have been assessed at six times the average annual value of the crop except for immature trees, when the value has been that of seedlings, labour and a 'bit extra' (this being substantial in the case of healthy-looking young trees with a future, and very little for those appearing unlikely to thrive).

The table shows the compensation for land taken over for permanent occupation, and is still incomplete. Some feeder lines, building sites and other items will be needed in addition, but the total compensation for permanent occupation should not exceed £70,000. Another £15,000 for miscellaneous temporary items must be added to this. These have been a major nuisance, usually wanted in a hurry a long way from the team's base. By the end of the construction, there will have been a total of about three thousand claims in respect of them. Where the consulting engineers have been supervising the contractors, plans for land required by the latter have been checked by the engineers' representative, but on many occasions in the early part of the work, contractors (new to Nigeria) just occupied land and left it to the administrative officer to deal with complaints from farmers, but after suitable discouragement this practice ceased. The problem has been to deal with requests for sites quickly enough to remove from the contractors the temptation to just go in and excavate or build without submitting their requirements to the lands office, a very understandable temptation when work has to be done quickly.

All this has resulted in a high cost of administering the land acquisition. Transport has taken up a lot of money, and so has the thorough survey and recording of claims. On the other hand it was felt, when the operation was planned, that anything less thorough would lead to trouble. In the early days of railway construction in the region it was possible to use rough and ready methods for legal actions were unlikely. The justification for the method adopted is the freedom from ill-feeling amongst the persons dispossessed, the total freedom from costly arbitration, and the adequacy of the records if at any time any disputes arise. The estimated overall average cost of £200 compensation per mile of line includes all stations and rail-served commercial layouts, and all ancillary land requirements. This is about four-thousandths of the estimated total cost for the line, including locomotives and rolling stock. Precise figures for the cost of administering the whole lands operation, including the final survey, are not at present available. Many items are concealed, including overheads, and costs are split between lands and engineering activities.

Appendix I

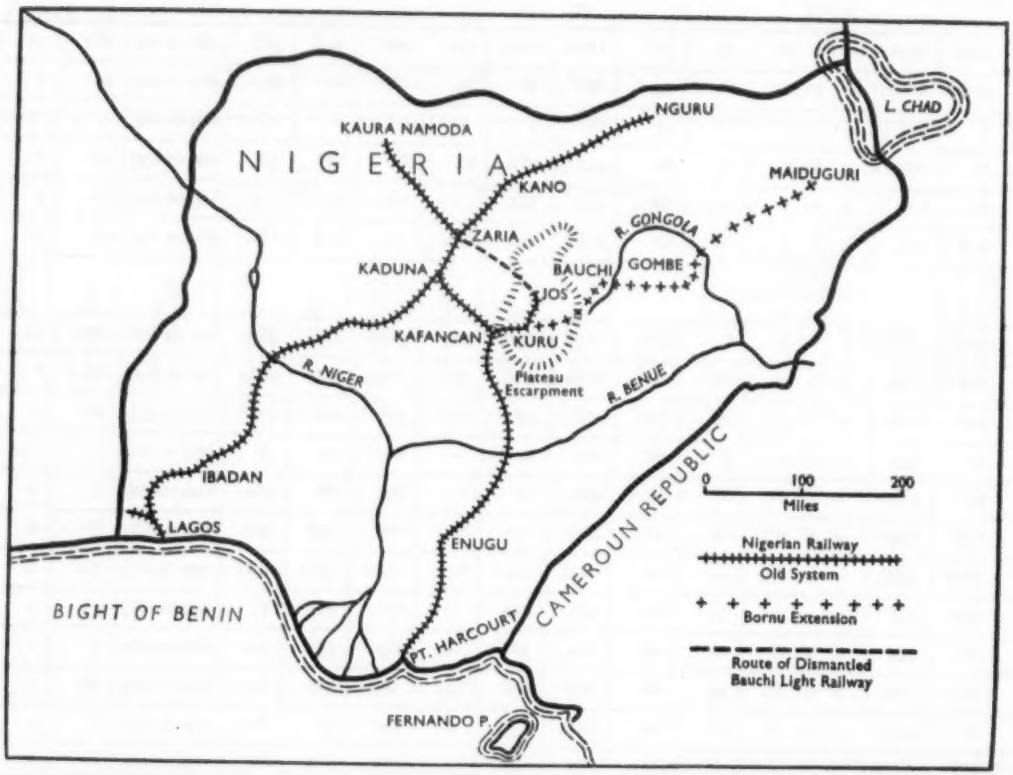
Land Acquisition (1958-1961) for the Bornu Railway Extension

COMPENSATION STATISTICS

Division	Native Authority Districts	Railway Stations	Miles of Running Line	Miles from Port Harcourt	Number of Claims: Farming Land (No.)	Number of Claims: Other Claims (No.)	Acres acquired for Permanent Acquisition: Farming Land (Acres)	N.A.: Forest Reserve (Acres)	N.A.: Other Land (Acres)	Total (Acres)	Farms (%)	Native Authorities (%)	Average price of land paid to farmers per acre (£ s. d.)	District Totals paid out: Farmers: Land only (£)	Farmers: Extras, Trees, Crops, Huts, Pagan Shrines, Graves, Hedges, etc. (£)	Native Authorities: Forest Reserves (£)	Native Authorities: Other Land (£)	Totals (£)
Plateau Province																		
	Vom Ryom & Kuru	1	3	497 to 500	210	81	64	—	—	64	100	—	31 16 9	2046	149	—	—	2195
	Heipang	1	7	500 to 507	479	415	146	—	—	146	100	—	26 8 3	3848	1850	—	—	5698
	Forom	2	13	507 to 520	550	544	274	—	—	274	100	—	17 5 6	4738	1836	—	—	6574
Jos Division Total		4	23	497 to 520	1239	1040	484	—	—	484	100	—	21 19 4	10632	3835	—	—	14467
Pankshin	*Gindiri*	—	7	520 to 523	200	140	102	—	10	112	91	9	7 5 5	742	182	—	21	945
Totals		4	30	497 to 527	1439	1180	586	—	10	596	98	2	19 8 0	11374	4017	—	21	15412
Bauchi Province																		
	Lere	3	34	527 to 561	481	293	532	—	75	607	88	12	4 12 8	2809	383	—	287	3479
	Bula	1	20	561 to 581	174	267	131	—	250	381	34	66	10 16 2	1416	467	—	627	2510
	Bauchi	1	6	581 to 587	1	1	1	—	99	100	1	99	5 4 3	1147	334	—	722	2203
Bauchi Division Total		5	60	527 to 587	656	561	664	—	424	1088	61	39	6 12 10	5372	1184	—	1636	8192
Totals		9	90	497 to 587	2095	1741	1250	—	434	1684	74	26	13 10 7	16746	5201	—	1657	23604

	Lava	3	34	527 to 561	481	293	532	—	75	887								
	Bula	1	20	561 to 581	174	267	131	—	250	381	34	66	10 16 2	1416	467	—	627	2510
	Zungur	2	21	581 to 602	294	215	220	—	288	508	44	56	5 4 3	1147	334	—	722	2203
Bauchi Emirate	*Bauchi Town*	1	4	602 to 606	245	65	164	—	31	195	84	16	14 19 6	2376	140	—	148	2664
	Galembi	2	30	606 to 636	110	210	71	183	328	582	12	88	5 16 0	411	146	649	633	1839
	Pali	1	6	636 to 642	116	87	89	—	58	147	60	40	7 12 9	679	150	—	118	947
	Kirfi	2	38	642 to 680	52	248	24	—	672	696	4	96	6 6 6	150	175	—	1716	2041
Emirate Totals		12	153	527 to 680	1472	1385	1231	183	1702	3116	40	60	7 6 0	8988	1795	649	4251	15683
	Kwom 1 & 2	2	49	680 to 742	570	366	454	39	414	907	50	50	8 1 6	3664	564	196	1045	5469
	Gombe Town	1	7	704 to 711	172	47	189	2	27	218	87	13	11 3 2	2108	74	1000	93	3275
Gombe Emirate	*Yamultu*	—	6	711 to 717	96	19	105	—	9	114	92	8	8 6 0	874	11	—	25	910
	Nafada	2	23	742 to 765	328	140	277	15	128	420	66	34	6 17 8	1903	203	73	323	2502
Emirate Totals		5	85	680 to 765	1166	572	1025	56	578	1659	62	38	8 6 10	8549	852	1269	1486	12156
Provincial Totals		17	238	527 to 765	2638	1957	2256	238	2280	4775	47	53	7 15 3	17537	2647	1918	5737	27839
BORNU PROVINCE																		
	Gujba	6	71	765 to 836	249	377	197	200	956	1353	15	85	4 9 2	879	100	666	925	2570
	Kaga	2	27	836 to 863	211	127	234	—	291	525	45	55	3 10 6	829	62	—	494	1385
	Auno	2	27	863 to 890	91	143	75	75	338	488	16	84	3 19 6	299	22	301	521	1143
	Maiduguri	—	2	890 to 892	39	3	27	—	5	32	85	15	5 5 10	145	1	—	8	154
	Yerwa	1	6	892 to 898	168	29	395	13	41	449	88	12	27 12 5	10903	2646	64	613	14226
Provincial Totals		11	133	765 to 898	758	679	928	288	1631	2847	33	67	14 1 1	13055	2831	1031	2561	19478
Whole Extension Totals (5 Divisions, 19 Districts)		32	401	497 to 898	4855	3816	3770	527	3921	8218	46	54	11 2 8	41966	9495	2949	8319	62729

Appendix II


NIGERIA
KAURA NAMODA
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MAIDUGURI
ZARIA
R. GONGOLA
KADUNA
BAUCHI
GOMBE
JOS
KAFANCAN
KURU
Plateau Escarpment
R. NIGER
R. BENUE
IBADAN
LAGOS
ENUGU
BIGHT OF BENIN
PT. HARCOURT
CAMEROUN REPUBLIC
FERNANDO P.
0 100 200
Miles
Nigerian Railway
Old System
Bornu Extension
Route of Dismantled
Bauchi Light Railway

Local Government Finance in Kenya[1]

Recurrent finance: the present position

The present patterns of recurrent expenditures and revenues by all local authorities combined were given in Tables 1 and 2 respectively,[2] the figures relating to the calendar year 1962. There are three main classes of local authorities as at present constituted: municipalities, county councils and African district councils and there are marked differences in the responsibilities borne both as between the classes and within a single class. Certain services (administration, roads, health, social services) are common to all three classes of authorities, though not every authority in the same class undertakes the same range of services. Roads figure prominently in the expenditures of county councils because road construction and maintenance are their principal duties and the newest county councils have not progressed beyond acting as agents for the road authority. All the African district councils, on the other hand, maintain roads, perform duties as health authorities and provide water supplies; and although they are not education authorities, they subscribe considerable sums towards the costs of primary education in their areas.

The contrasts between the classes of authorities on the income side are even more marked. Municipalities finance the highest proportion of their expenditure from their own taxes and depend on the central Government for only 10 per cent. of their expenditure. The corresponding figures for counties and African district councils are 44 and 46 per cent. respectively. The figures differ so much because municipalities have neither the responsibility of the county councils for roads nor that of the African district councils for education, both services which are heavily grant-aided. The different revenue systems are briefly described in the following paragraphs.

(*a*) *Local revenues*

(1) *Municipalities and townships*. These authorities generally rely on a single tax on unimproved site values, levied upon owners according to the provisions of the Local Government (Valuation and Rating) Ordinance of 1956. An isolated attempt to rate improvements in addition was made in Mombasa in the nineteen-forties and abandoned after a short trial because of defects in the law.

(2) *County councils*. The Local Government (County Councils) Ordinance of 1952 provides the countries with the following alternative methods of rating:

(i) any rate which a municipal council or municipal board is empowered to impose under section 15 of the Local Government (Rating) Ordinance;
(ii) a rate upon the annual value of land;
(iii) a flat rate upon the area of land;
(iv) a graduated rate upon the area of land;
(v) an industrial rate upon the area of unimproved site value of, or on the value of improvements on, land used for other than agricultural or residential purposes;
(vi) a rate upon the value of every dwelling-house and the curtilage thereof;
(vii) such other method of rating as the county council may, with the approval of the Minister, adopt.

[1] This article is reprinted from Chapter 7 of the report of the Fiscal Commission, Government of Kenya, 1963; 108.

[2] These Tables were reprinted in *J.L.A.O.*, Vol. II, No. 3, July 1963, pp. 164-165.

In practice, county councils levy a rate upon the land, either on an acreage basis (either at a flat rate or graded according to size or productivity) or, in one instance, according to the value of the land as determined by the government valuer for rental purposes. County councils levy site value rates in urban districts within the county. Counties may also levy poll rates under the Local Government (County Councils) Amendment Ordinance of 1959, for schemes of social welfare, education and hospitals. These rates are a means of securing contributions from Africans as well as Europeans towards such of these services as the councils provide.

(3) *African district councils*. As would be expected the picture here is more varied. In law, rates may be levied upon property and taxes can be imposed on adult male Africans, and on African women with independent means. Graduated taxes based upon the income of Africans are also permitted in law; the poll rate can be graduated, but these have not so far been authorized and in practice African district councils rely on the following taxes:

(i) *Poll rates* – the general standby – are levied at a flat rate per head both for general purposes and for education. The locational councils (the lower tier authorities in African district council areas) also levy a poll rate. In 1962 the total poll rates varied from Sh. 20 to Sh. 60 per head except for the new councils in the Northern Province where a standard rate of Sh. 10 was levied. The average, including location rates, was in the region of Sh. 40.

(ii) *Produce cesses* which are collected to some degree in all African district council areas. They are levied at a rate not exceeding 5 per cent. of the price paid to the producer of those kinds of local produce which happen to be marketed locally in sufficient quantity to make collection worthwhile. Examples from various districts are coffee, maize and other grain crops, hides and skins, pyrethrum, rice and wattle bark. They are collected by various agencies or, in some cases, such as for fruit and vegetables, by the council's own employees. In all, the so-called cesses are estimated to produce £529,624 in 1962, as compared with poll rates producing £1,113,292 for African district councils and £303,395 for locational councils.

The other locally-raised income of local authorities comes from investments, fees, re-charges, licences and, in African district council areas, from rents accruing from land vested in the lands trust board. The licence fees levied by municipalities and counties differ slightly from those levied by African district councils. Traders, bicycles and dogs figure in both lists. Cinemas, taxi-cabs and hawkers appear in the municipality and county lists, whilst beer parties, donkeys, occupation, native liquor and game are subjects peculiar to African district councils. There are also a few other minor items.

(b) Contributions in lieu of rates

Contributions in lieu of rates are legally classified as central Government grants and not as rate revenue. In principle, all authorities are eligible to receive such contributions in respect of unalienated Crown land, provided a valuation or area rate roll is in operation. In fact, however, African district councils are ineligible since unalienated land in their area is vested in the lands trust board and not directly in the Crown. (In practice, there are no valuation rolls in their areas.)

(*c*) *Grants-in-aid*

In each type of authority, locally-raised revenues (and contributions in lieu of rates) fell short of their recurrent expenditures in 1962 by the following approximate amounts:

	£
Municipalities	263,000
Counties	759,000
African district councils	2,476,000
	3,498,000

The gaps between expenditure and locally-raised revenue are filled by government grants-in-aid of various kinds, both specific and general or by withdrawal from balance.

Specific grants to the various classes of local authority are as follows:

(i) *Public health grants*. In 1958, all African district councils became public health authorities with approved expenditure attracting a 50 per cent. grant. Municipalities and county councils could become so voluntarily, with the attraction of a 95 per cent. grant diminishing to 50 per cent. in a space of five years. Within a year of its introduction, however, the grant was pegged at its 1958 or 1959 level, leaving the African district councils (and the municipalities and county councils which had accepted the inducement) to bear the whole of the subsequent increase in costs. The effect as regards the African district councils is shown in the national summaries of local authorities' expenditure and is a particularly sore point, for the shortfall in 1962 was no less than £73,000.

(ii) *Education grants*. African district councils act as the channel for the payment of public monies to the district education boards and receive from the central Government two-thirds of the amounts the boards need for (mainly) tuition costs after deduction of fees, the African district councils themselves meeting the remaining one-third as well as appreciable sums for capital provision and maintenance and in bursaries for secondary and higher education. (In municipalities and county council areas, the district education boards are financed directly by the central Government).

(iii) *Road work grants*. County councils and African district councils maintaining secondary roads receive full reimbursement from the road authority. African district councils are also required to maintain minor roads: for these each one receives £4 per mile per annum provided it spends at least £20 per mile, which is regarded as the desirable figure. County councils are treated more generously in grants towards the administrative expenses of road construction and maintenance undertaken as agents of the road authority.

(iv) *Other specific grants*. There are some small grants towards community development services and child welfare, and a grant of one-third of the total emoluments of qualified chief officers.

In addition to the specific grants-in-aid of particular services there are the following general grants:

(i) *Graduated rate collection grant*. A grant to African district councils based on the actual amounts of rates collected in each of their areas. The total distributed in the country as a whole is limited to 27½ per cent. of the total of rates collected but the general effect is that the more rates collected the greater the grant.

(ii) *Graduated rate grant.* A grant to municipalities, county councils and townships based on rates receivable (not received) by each of them, excluding contributions in lieu made by the central Government and by the East African Common Services Organization. The aggregate amount distributed in the country as a whole is related to the amount of traffic licence revenue, the grant being part compensation for the diversion some years ago of varying proportions of vehicle licence revenues from urban to central funds.

That the present pattern of grants is outdated was recognized by the appointment in 1961 of a working party to consider its revision. The grants are inconsistent, complicated, studded with historical peculiarities and, in the case of the health grant, exhibit that most exasperating tendency of central treasuries – the alteration of a grant in a way that forces local authorities either to neglect a vital service or themselves to pay a greater proportion of the cost than they had originally bargained for. In general, grants have become more restricted over the years – a tendency of which local authorities are very conscious.

Independent revenues and grants-in-aid

We regard it as a fundamental principle of local government that local authorities should have substantial resources of their own. Grants-in-aid by higher tiers of government may be necessary: on the above formal reckoning of responsibilities they will be as a balancing item. They are a necessary device for assisting the poorer authorities, for equality of local financial resources is not to be expected. Used sympathetically, they can be a valuable force for efficiency without becoming an irritant. But they should not provide the bulk of the local authorities' revenue. Our proposals have been designed in the belief that the regional authorities will wish to make their local authorities as financially independent as possible and will not want to compel them in the early days of independence to limit local services by lack of finance which they could themselves have raised. Equally, they should not be tempted or forced into dissipating accumulated balances. Local authorities in Kenya are to be commended for the soundness of their policies in building up capital resources and reserve funds which are adequate but not excessive. Areas subject to drought, famine and flood should in our view be encouraged to build up funds sufficient to cover likely temporary losses of income; in extreme cases this might amount to as much as a year's income.

We think it inevitable that, in a country of Kenya's physical diversity, there will be local areas of exceptionally low resources difficult to fit into the general pattern. In our own view it is better for the regional authorities to deal with these areas by *ad hoc* arrangements rather than to distort their general arrangement in an attempt to cover extreme sets of circumstances. The practical application of this principle will be seen later when we come to deal with grants-in-aid.

This element of elasticity and expediency has also to be admitted in applying principles of taxation at ground level to an emerging country in the throes of constitutional re-organization. Accordingly, we have not hesitated, in deriving the local taxation system from the general ideas on taxation set out in earlier chapters, to suggest some departures, possibly only temporary. In particular we suggest the retention for the time being of certain minor taxing powers which are not completely in theoretical accord with our guiding principles.

Finally, there is the question of the efficiency of tax collection. Considerable evidence has been submitted to us suggesting a growing unwillingness in some locations to pay the graduated personal tax[3] and the African poll rate. We are informed that in the worst cases as much as 50 per cent. of the African district council rates is outstanding. Several district education boards made the production of the appropriate rate receipts a condition of accepting a child at school; but despite this sanction the number of persons paying their rates in 1962 was only 557,000 compared with 673,000 in 1959. It was because of the increasing number of commitments to prison for non-payment of graduated personal tax that the Government took the drastic step of abolishing the lowest step of the tax, thus taking almost a million persons out of its scope. All this is particularly disturbing in the light of our view that it is upon direct taxes at ground level that the finances of local government must rest. We therefore recommend that the local authorities be equippped with the necessary powers to recover tax monies promptly. They should set about the tax in a way calculated to bring home to the population the connection between the taxes they pay and the services they receive. The local authorities should be in the best position to teach the citizens that a country can have, in the end, only such services as its taxpayers are willing to pay for.

[3] The comments of the Fiscal Commission on the general pattern of a graduated personal tax, potentially the principal source of local revenue, will be printed in the next issue of the Journal.

Administrative Training and National Development in Thailand

by Malai Huvanandana and Woodworth G. Thrombley

One of the endemic facts of life in the developing nations is a shortage of managers and administrators qualified by education and experience to operate industrial enterprises and government departments efficiently. Where the shortage of skilled administrative manpower is extreme, as it is in several of the nations of Asia, the prospects for rapid economic and social development are virtually non-existent. Where the shortage is pressing, but not desperate, as for example in Thailand, manpower deficiencies in business and government administration weigh less heavily in national development. They remain, nonetheless, obstacles to effective development as formidable as those of scarce resources, inadequate investment capital, expanding population and political instability.

The remarkable growth in the number of specialized institutes and schools of administration in the developing nations in recent years attests, in part at least, to the governmental awareness of the importance of trained administrative personnel to the attainment of national development goals.[1] As might be expected, the growth to date has been largely in the establishment of institutes of public rather than business administration. This current overriding concern for training government rather than business administrators is but a reflection of the relative insignificance of domestic industrial enterprise in the developing nations, and of the fact that national development programmes have been, by political choice as well as economic necessity, overwhelmingly government programmes.

Official acknowledgement that an ineffectual civil service is a major handicap to economic and social development may be said to have been made by the Thai Government in 1948. Instruction in administrative law, civil service procedure, and general public administration was first introduced into the undergraduate curriculum at Chulalongkorn University in that year. It was not until 1955, however, with the establishment of the Institute of Public Administration at Thammasat University, that this acknowledgement was acted upon in a substantial way.

The creation of the Institute of Public Administration

The Institute of Public Administration is the product of the co-operative effort of Thammasat University, Indiana University, and the Thai and American Governments. This inter-university relationship was inaugurated in May 1955, with the signing of a contract by the Rector of Thammasat University and the

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[1] In Asia specialized institutes of public administration have been set up in Burma (1955), China (Taiwan) (1961), India (1954), Indonesia (1958), Korea (1959), Pakistan (1955), Philippines (1952), Thailand (1955), and Vietnam (1952). The institutes in China and Pakistan offer courses in both public and business administration. It is undoubtedly true that the strong American bias for 'specialized administrative training', and the lure of American financial assistance for such training, were influential in the creation of many of these institutes.

President of Indiana University providing for a three-year programme of assistance in the development of public administration training in Thailand.[2] The Institute is constituted as an 'independent faculty' of Thammasat University and designated as the 'principal' Thai institution in the field of public administration.[3] Its broad purposes are:

(1) to offer a two-year programme of graduate instruction leading to the master's degree in public administration (M.P.A.);
(2) to provide in-service training to government officials;
(3) to establish a research and publications programme in public administration; and
(4) to provide technical consultative services to government agencies.

Under the terms of the contract, Thammasat University provides the physical facilities to house the Institute and is developing a permanent staff as soon as practicable to assume full responsibility for Institute programmes while Indiana University assists in the training of Institute staff, provides classroom teachers during the staff training period, and advises and assists in matters of curriculum, consultative services, research, in-service training, and library development. Indiana University, Thammasat University, and the United States Operations Mission to Thailand, through which American contract costs are financed, share joint responsibility for the selection of Thai members of faculty and staff to be trained abroad. The costs of the programmes are shared by the Governments of Thailand and the United States.[4]

Faculty and staff of the Institute

The building of a qualified faculty and staff is a difficult undertaking anywhere. It is doubly so in many of the developing countries, where the educated *élite* are relatively few and generally oriented towards (non-university) positions of power, profit, and prestige. The problem of staffing, therefore, is not one of recruiting from an existing pool of qualified people, for no such pool exists. It is a problem of production, of training potential instructors, administrators, and researchers for future use. As such, it is a costly, long-range and hazardous undertaking. It requires a very clear estimate of the future needs of the institution being created and extreme care in the selection of those designated for advanced training to become faculty and staff members within two, three, or five years.

The Institute's principal staffing problems were, and in part continue to be:

(1) developing and training faculty and staff members in an academic environment without experience of the teaching of administration and ill-suited to cross-disciplinary study; and
(2) obtaining permanent civil service status for members of the Institute at ranks commensurate with the professional and technical qualifications required.

Although a strong staff has been built up, the Institute's staffing problems have not been completely resolved.

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[2] The contract was extended in 1958, 1959, 1961, and 1963. It is scheduled to terminate in October 1964.

[3] Chulalongkorn and Thammasat are the two major universities in Thailand.

[4] American dollar costs from 1955 through contract termination in 1964 will total about $2,000,000. An accurate figure of the total Thai contribution is not available. In terms of direct (budgeted) costs the aggregate Thai contribution is considerably lower than the American figure. If indirect costs to the Thai Government (such as salaries of civil servants in training at the Institute) are added, however, the Thai figure is considerably higher than the American one.

A long-range participant training programme was launched in 1955 to overcome the initial difficulty of obtaining qualified staff. To date, 36 Thai students, all with civil service standing, have received advanced training in the United States in public administration and related subjects and have returned to Thailand. Five are still attending American universities. The training received by the returned participants is shown in Table I.

Of the 36 participants (see Table II for a summary of their present status) who received training abroad, 28 have served on the Institute staff, 20 as full-time staff members and 8 as part-time lecturers. Only 12 of the returned participants are at present serving full-time with the Institute.[5] With one exception, however, all of the surviving participants are now serving the Government of Thailand in some official capacity. One has attained ministerial rank.

The problem of obtaining an adequate number of permanent civil service staff posts in the Institute, at ranks commensurate with professional and technical needs, has proved difficult. By far the most serious aspect of the problem is that the civil service classification system does not make adequate allowance for the high professional and technical qualifications required by staff specialists. Librarians, training specialists, and research personnel cannot, as such, be promoted to positions of equal rank to those allotted to teaching personnel. One consequence of this is that instructional positions have had to be allotted to specialists in research, training, and library science in order to provide the status, incentives, and salary appropriate to those positions. This situation has not only resulted in a shortage of teaching positions in the Institute, requiring a too extensive use of part-time lecturers, but it has also created a built-in bias in favour of classroom teaching *vis-à-vis* research, training and library work.

During the early period of the Institute's development most of the classroom teaching was conducted by Indiana University staff, with Thai counterpart instructors.[6] At present, all of the Institute's courses are taught by Thai instructors (Table III illustrates the shift in teaching responsibility from American to Thai staff).

Institute programmes

No extended description of Institute programmes can be given in this brief article.[7] As stated, the Institute has, in addition to its two-year degree programme, major responsibilities in training and research. Professional staff time is allocated to these three areas, and to the library, in about equal proportions.

From the start of classes in 1956 to the present, some 600 students have enrolled in the Institute's two-year academic programme, about 80 per cent. being government employees on released time from their departments. More than 70 have been awarded the degree of master of public administration, having completed the two-year course, passed subject matter and English language comprehensive examinations, and written and orally defended a thesis. More

[5] Academic institutions in Thailand are hard put to compete with government departments for the services of highly trained personnel. Whereas the rank and base salary of a university instructor may be the same as that of a ministry division chief, job prerogatives and opportunities for advancement are rarely so.

[6] 38 Indiana University staff members (professors; training, library, and research advisers; and administrative support personnel) have served with the Institute. The average tour of service was 17 months, the range one month to three years. The peak year was 1958 with 12. The Indiana staff is currently three.

[7] A detailed description of Institute activities, by six-month periods, can be found in the semi-annual reports, *Thailand Public Administration Program*, published by the Institute of Training for Public Service, Department of Government, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

than 1,500 government officials have participated in training programmes conducted by the Institute's training division. 165 of these have attended one or more of the Institute's executive seminars, which are generally of eight days in duration and restricted to senior government officials. A quarterly journal of public administration (with most of the articles in the Thai language) is now in its third year. The library contains more than 16,000 volumes and the library staff has nearly completed a central library service project which will make the combined library holdings in public administration in Thailand readily available to government agencies. The research division, despite a slow start, has published for the first time in Thailand a number of valuable monographs on Thai administration, including the first government organization manual (in ministry series).

It is perhaps worth noting that while the degree programme is the Institute's primary *raison d'être*, the in-service training programme has had the greatest impact on government opinion and is primarily responsible for the Institute's growing reputation and widespread acceptance. Its research programme, however, has not kept pace with its academic and training programmes. The reasons for this are varied and complex. Suffice it to say here that, in Thailand as probably in most developing nations, the western-held conviction that an active research programme is an integral and necessary part of any academic undertaking is not widely accepted.

Business administration: the new Royal Institute of Development Administration

To date, Thailand's concern for its acknowledged deficiencies in administrative and managerial talent has centred on the needs of the public service. The several programmes in administration and related fields, initiated by government for the express purpose of overcoming these deficiencies, have been geared almost exclusively to the improvement of civil service administration. At the same time, the government has become increasingly aware of the importance of the business sector of the economy to the attainment of development goals, and of the need to increase the relative importance of commerce and manufacturing in the economy.[8] This growing awareness is shown in a number of ways, not least in the pending establishment of the Royal Institute of Development Administration (R.I.D.A.), which represents a logical evolution in Thailand's efforts to develop the personnel resources requisite to sustained economic growth.[9] By adding to existing government-oriented programmes the new dimension of a graduate training programme in business administration, effective economic development is recognized as being the joint responsibility of government and private enterprise, and not the exclusive property of either.

The R.I.D.A. will emerge from the consolidation of the teaching, research, and training programmes of the Institute of Public Administration, and two in-service training programmes (in applied statistics and development economics) currently offered by departments of the National Economic Development Board.[10] To this merger will be added a new two-year programme in business

[8] About 80 per cent. of the population earn their livelihood from agriculture, forestry, and fishing. Manufacturing constitutes about 11 per cent. of gross national product. See the United Nations publication, *Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East* 1962, published annually by the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, Bangkok, Thailand.

[9] The RIDA proposal was approved by the Council of Ministers on 11th June 1963. The Institute is scheduled to begin operations in 1964.

[10] The programmes in economics and statistics are of the in-service training type (non-degree) open to government employees whose duties require a working knowledge of statistical techniques and/or economic methods relevant to development planning and direction.

administration. R.I.D.A. will consist, then, of post-graduate (degree conferring) 'faculties' in public and business administration and in-service training programmes in applied statistics, development economics, and administrative procedures. When fully operational, it will have a full-time graduate student capacity of about 320. Its in-service training programmes will function in three distinct areas of paramount importance to national development, its research facilities will be second to none in the country and its library will hold about 25,000 volumes.

The aims of the Royal Institute, and even the content of many of the courses it will offer, set a new and promising precedent for graduate and professionally-oriented education in Thailand. While the public administration sector of the R.I.D.A. complex will continue the Thai tradition of a close affiliation between higher education and the pursuit of public service careers, the new educational commitment to the needs of Thailand's growing business community will open up a new frontier of professional career opportunities to the nation's youth. This, in turn, cannot help but have a profound influence on the rate and quality of Thailand's economic and social development.

TABLE I

Summary of participant training in the United States

Ph.D. degrees in political science	6
M.A. degrees in political science	27
M.A. degrees in library science	5
M.A. degrees in education	3
M.A. degrees in economics	1
M.A. degrees in social services	1
Received no degree	2
Short-term observation tours	2

TABLE II

Summary of participant status – June 1963

Full-time in Institute	12
Former full-time now serving other agencies	6
Former full-time now deceased	2
Part-time lecturers	3
No connection with Institute	13
	36
Participants in training in the United States	5
Total	41

TABLE III

Shift in teaching responsibility from American to Thai staff

Year	*Number of courses taught*	
	By American staff with Thai counterparts	*By Thai staff only*
1956	8	—
1957	12	4
1958	21	7
1959	15	10
1960	3	21
1961	5	19
1962	2	22
1963	—	20

Quarterly Notes

EAST AFRICA Africanization of the public services

The Vice-President of Tanganyika introduced at a press conference in June the report of the Africanization Commission in Tanganyika, which has been studying ways of speeding up Africanization in the public service. While stressing the need for a national civil service, the report acknowledged that specialists, technicians and other experts will be needed from overseas for many years. The Vice-President drew attention to the latest Africanization statistics which show that two out of every five posts in the upper ranks of the public service in Tanganyika are now held by Africans.

A similar Commission under the chairmanship of the Principal Secretary to the Premier of Eastern Nigeria, Mr. J. O. Udoji, and appointed by the East African Common Services Organization, has recommended a reduction in the qualifications required for a large number of posts. In the long term it considered that Africanization of the service should be based on massive scholarship and training programmes, but until the output from schools and colleges improves, a review of entry qualification is required.

NEPAL Tour Commissions

In February 1961 the King of Nepal, after the dissolution of the first elected parliament and the virtual restoration of direct rule, appointed 14 tour commissions (each consisting of a chairman, representatives of the military and judiciary, and a secretary) to tour different sections of the country.

The powers of the commissions included the supervision of all government offices within their regions and the inspection of social and economic conditions of the people (covering the investigation of area development programmes and the initiation of new projects). They were granted special judicial powers similar to those of district courts, being instructed to set aside the normal judicial procedure and to dispose of as many cases as possible. The most important task was to note the attitude of the people towards the new regime and to explain the King's policy.

After three months touring their respective areas, the tour commissions discussed their findings with ministers and submitted a report to the King, which was finally discussed with him. In January 1962, development commissioners in each of the 14 zones were appointed chairmen of the commissions, but it is still too early to say whether this new institution will become a permanent part of the administrative structure of the country.

SIERRA LEONE Local courts

On the 25th April 1963, the Sierra Leone House of Representatives passed the Local Courts Bill. This measure integrates the native courts (now to be called local courts) into the main Sierra Leone judicial system and provides for appeals to the Supreme Courts.

The jurisdiction conferred on local courts is applied to all persons (including non-natives) and where there is no adequate provision under the general law, customary law will apply to non-natives to such extent as may be necessary for the avoidance of substantial injustice.

No legal practitioner or other persons may appear for any party before a local

court, except in certain cases of hardship; but for reasonable cause proceedings may be transferred to a magistrate's court or district appeal court at the discretion of the judicial adviser or of a district appeal court.

UNITED KINGDOM Assistance for legal education in Africa

The Deans of the Law Faculties at the Universities of Khartoum, Ghana, Lagos and Addis Ababa and representatives of the University College, Dar es Salaam; the University of Ife; the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria; Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone; the Nigerian Law School, Lagos; the University of Nigeria at Nsukka; and the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, were among the participants who met representatives of many of the law faculties in the British Isles at Wadham College, Oxford, in June. The object of the meeting was to provide an opportunity for informal discussion of ways in which law faculties and other interested bodies in Britain could be of assistance to the rapidly developing African faculties, more especially in the recruitment of law teachers, the provision of text-books and the organization of law libraries.

Britain, whose legal systems are intimately connected with those of the Commonwealth and English-speaking Africa, has a unique opportunity to assist in recruitment. Much has already been done to help, through the supply of distinguished law teachers to act as Deans of the new African faculties; but the continuing need which the expanding faculties in Africa will have for experienced teachers can probably be met most satisfactorily by the encouragement of secondment of British teachers, preferably for a two-year term.

It was a unique and profitable occasion for the British and the African law teachers who took part, and should lead to augmenting and underpinning the flow of British law teachers to Africa through the provision of permanent machinery by which teaching opportunities in Africa can be brought to the notice of law teachers in Britain.

Conference of Directors of Institutes of Public Administration

A Conference held from the 23rd June to the 3rd July, under the chairmanship of Sir John Fletcher-Cooke, C.M.G., formerly Deputy Governor of Tanganyika, attracted Directors of Institutes of Public Administration, or of similar bodies, from most parts of the Commonwealth.

The Conference, which began at Ditchley Park near Woodstock and ended in the London headquarters of the Royal Institute of Public Administration, studied some of the training and education problems of developing countries. Three study groups discussed respectively teaching methods, research and publications, and relations with organizations providing technical assistance. A report will be issued shortly which should be a good guide for those setting up similar institutions in other parts of the world.

One outstanding feature of the Conference was the willingness of participants to consider ways by which syllabus material and case studies might be exchanged between institutes; another aspect was the surprising degree of variation in the roles of institutes in developing countries within the Commonwealth.

There was a strong American delegation, but all of them had worked on projects in Commonwealth countries and were able, perhaps because of this experience, to make particularly important contributions to the discussions. The Department of Technical Co-operation was also well represented.

Book Reviews

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN AFRICA, by T. O. Elias. *Asia Publishing House, London*, 1963; pp. xx + 288; 35s.

There seems to be no end to the writing of books about Africa. But here we have an author in a unique position to analyse the complications of that turbulent continent. Dr. Elias is an African patriot with a background of western education; he is a distinguished lawyer with great administrative and political experience; he is an expert on African customary law and also an international legal figure. The book is like the man, many-sided, wise and fair. There is much more to it than the title implies. The book is, in fact, the written version of a series of public lectures delivered by Dr. Elias in 1956 as Visiting Professor in Political Science before the University of Delhi. In this, the second edition, he has brought his matter up to date and added three extra chapters.

The origin of the work is still perceptible, particularly in the earlier historical matter. As the author emphasizes, he was originally talking to an audience "whose knowledge about Africa was often very limited", which led him "to be more discursive than interpretative". This does not detract from the book's value, rather does it add to it for all but the most authoritative reader.

It is in his analysis of current problems that the Doctor is at his most stimulating – such as federalism, the clash of political viewpoints (not only between races, but between the 'ex-French' and the 'ex-British' countries), and the place of the individual in the modern African state.

As one expects from the first Attorney-General and Minister of Justice of the Federation of Nigeria, the chapter on 'The Impact of English Law Upon African Customary Law' is most penetrating. Dr. Elias weighs the impact of English law on constitutional, political and moral ideas in Africa and points out that the civil law is more easily assimilable in Africa than the criminal. That is something which, even now, is by no means thoroughly appreciated by the western world.

The final chapter, dealing with new trends in the continent, makes particularly interesting reading in the light of the recent Addis Ababa conference. The author's cautiously-expressed belief that there could be a thaw in the relations between the Monrovia and Casablanca groups, leading to 'unity and good sense' in Africa, seems now to be amply justified. In this same chapter, however, he emphasizes that "the major problems facing the emergent, as well as the emerging, African states, are those of the establishment of an efficient and incorruptible civil service . . ." It is as well, in the drama of politics, that this hard truth should be kept in the foreground.

DON TAYLOR.

CENTRAL AUTHORITY AND REGIONAL AUTONOMY IN INDONESIA: A Study in Local Administration 1950-1960, by J. D. Legge. *Cornell University Press*, and *Oxford University Press*, 1961; pp. xiii + 291; 40s.

This is a short and competent book of great interest to students of comparative local government.

The book is one of the Cornell University series dealing with modern Indonesia, and the author is now Professor of History at Monash University,

Melbourne. He gives no sign that he knows about developments in Africa, and this reviewer knows almost nothing about Indonesia – except that it is quite unlike Africa. Yet the parallels are extraordinary, as may be intimated in a brief summary of the stages of development.

(1) The territory is at first ruled by a colonial power through a hierarchical civil service. The lower ranks of the service are Indonesian, and some of them are in effect 'traditional native authorities'.

(2) In its last years the colonial power begins to decentralize to regions and smaller areas, for various motives, some conscientious, others less scrupulous.

(3) The newly constituted state inherits both a civil service structure and some aspirations towards local self-government. It has universal suffrage, a parliament, and several parties.

(4) In the first years a local government law is enacted. But it is rather abstract in character, and the administration is slow in giving substance to it.

(5) Then there are active signs of discontent at the periphery of a huge state; political parties and military men attempt coups against the central Government.

(6) Greater decentralization is conceded swiftly, and the dissentients are with difficulty suppressed. There is much talk of effective local self-government and the disappearance of civil service control.

(7) Before talk becomes reality, the pendulum swings back. The President comes out against government by factions, parties and talkative assemblies. The old civil service is in principle restored, but it is now manned to some extent by people who are local bosses, not mobile professional civil servants. Two words embody the general aims of the government, 'USDEK' and 'manipol'. The former contains the initial letters of the Indonesian words standing for the five concepts – the 1945 Constitution, Indonesian socialism, guided democracy, guided economy and Indonesian individuality or identity. (Non-linguists may like to know that in Indonesian 'guided democracy' is *demokrasi terpimpin*, which goes with *economi terpimpin*).

Obviously events in Africa are not quite separate from events in Indonesia. To use anthropological terms, there is certainly *some* element of cultural diffusion between areas very far apart geographically and socially. Professor Legge carefully avoids general conclusions, except one; that much of the trouble was not about autonomy at all, but about a share-out of tax resources and other benefits. But it is hard to resist the feeling that there is a 'model' here, which, can be given quite general application. This may not be 'scientific', but it would be very stimulating as a topic of discussion by a good group of students drawn from many lands.

W. J. M. MACKENZIE.

VILLAGE GOVERNMENT IN INDIA, by Ralph H. Retzlaff. *Asia Publishing House, London*, 1962; pp. 131; 25s.

This study, resulting from Professor Retzlaff's living in the village of Khalapur (Uttar Pradesh), is of considerable value to sociologists, anthropologists and particularly to students of administrative problems in developing countries. It deals with the attitudes of the villagers to community problems and to political representation, and to the new local government system, following independence, based upon the village panchayat.

The concise and excellent introduction sets out both the more important historical factors and the administrative arrangements established during British rule. The rest of his book is concerned with the period from 1952-1958, that is from the first election held under the new village panchayat law, through the life of that first panchayat, to the holding of the second election. In his conclusion he surveys some of the effects of this new institution – for it is so different that it can no longer be called a continuation of the old traditional panchayat – upon various aspects of village life, including also the general election which took place in 1957. There are appendices setting out the functions of the village councils and a schedule of taxes which the village council may levy, an adequate glossary of terms and titles, and a short index.

Professor Retzlaff has touched upon some of the most fiercely argued issues in present-day India, for example, the vexed question of consensus in a village society, the ideal state of political affairs in a society where so much needs to be done which can be done only with the support of the great majority of the people of that society. Controversy is sharp about the effects of the local government legislation which followed 1958 and even of the panchayat election procedure outlined in this book. It is maintained that elections cause factionalism and dissension in the village. Yet the author points out that cause and effect are being reversed in this argument – if there is factionalism within the village, an election is most likely to result. Furthermore, as his detailed analysis of the first election in which there was no voting makes clear, the uncontested election may gloss over the very real divisions which exist between castes and different groups within them.

'Unanimity' is the absence of a contest on polling day. Many now argue that in a society where there is open voting and where there are marked differences of power between the different castes, absence of formal conflict is only attained through considerable social pressure. This was certainly the case in Khalapur where the rajputs were able to deceive the opposition and get their own candidate accepted in the open election for the first panchayat. So considerable was the resulting breach that the labourers in the village refused to do any work for the dominant landowners, a refusal which lasted for varying periods from that of a few days by the sweepers to several months on the part of those responsible for the removal of animal carcasses. All this is most clearly brought out, and so too are the manoeuvres preceding the contested second election.

Voluntary labour fell away as a result of these elections. Moreover, whilst the Congress Party scrupulously observed its undertaking not to intervene in the village elections, the villagers associated the successful chairman and his chief promoter in the village with congress and the general opposition to the method of election is held to have led to a withdrawal of votes from the sitting congressman in the next election to the state legislature.

There is interesting information about taxes and the attitude of villagers to them. Finally the author touches upon another extremely important administrative matter – the importance of officers giving priority to long-term effects, to stimulating real participation in panchayat affairs rather than merely completing their statistical summaries and concentrating their efforts upon the completion of the physically obvious.

This is an important contribution to our understanding of the working of local government in a village community, presented as it is with ample analysis of social groupings in a simple setting in which some of the motivations can be isolated and against which the assumptions of lawyers, administrators and

political theorists can be tested. It will be welcomed by those who have always felt that the idealization[1] of the village in India has reached dangerous levels. A small society of whom most of the inhabitants are on the economic margin, a society which is inward-looking in the sense that economic and social relations within the village are the important things to be decided and discussed, is bound to be a society of dissensions and conflicts. Given appropriate projects, given the right leadership, they will rise above them but these are very considerable conditions to fulfil. Development in rural local government is not helped but hindered by viewing villages as Arcadias.

HENRY MADDICK.

THE ENGLISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM, by J. H. Warren. *Allen and Unwin, London*, 1963; pp. 222; 18s.

A revised edition of this book, in the well known New Town Hall and County Hall Series, has now been issued. Some revision of the original edition was carried out by Mr. Warren himself but after his death further revision, bringing the book up to date, was undertaken by Dr. Peter G. Richards, Senior Lecturer in Government at the University of Southampton, who has now taken over the general editorship of the whole series.

This is an excellent book particularly suited for those who want to obtain a reasonably detailed picture of local government in action in England, either before undertaking deeper study or more actual day to day experience. For those coming to England either to study the local government system or to obtain practical knowledge of the way in which it works there could be no better background. It is also the kind of book which every elected representative in this country might well be prevailed upon to read before he or she embarks upon municipal duties. The book has the great advantage that, while explaining the legal position, it is not just a study of the law but describes with equal clarity the administrative machine which has been built up to enable local government to function. Like all books on local government it can never be up to date with current problems. These, like life itself, change so rapidly that the emphasis is wrong before the ink is dry.

The great advantage of this revised edition by Dr. Richards is that it will give the student just the information he needs to enable him to understand and share in the discussions on any problem which are of immediate concern at the time of his actual contact with English local government. Perhaps when a complete revision is undertaken it will be possible to make it more attractive to read. An effort is now required which the excellent nature of the contents should not necessitate.

G. H. BANWELL.

ADMINISTRATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA, edited by Ralph Braibanti and Joseph J. Spengler. *Cambridge University Press for Duke University Commonwealth Studies Center*, 1963; pp. vi + 312; 37s. 6d.

The ten essays in this book are all of high quality and of interest to anyone concerned about administration in countries which have recently become

[1] See the footnote on p. 250.

independent. It is impossible in a short review to deal usefully with all of them and, ignoring the economic group entirely, I propose to refer only to two.

The first must be Ralph Braibanti's 'Reflections on Bureaucratic Reform in India'. This is the longest and serves as an introduction to the others. Professor Braibanti speaks in terms which to this reviewer are almost embarrassing of the work of the Indian Administrative Service and of the Indian Civil Service which it replaced. He says that the programme of administrative reform in India since 1947 has been "unusually well-conceived and marked by a firm sense of order, balance and allocation of priorities". The Government of India is "among the dozen or so most advanced governments of the world". This he believes is partly due to the strong tradition of "intellectuality, independent spirit and pride found in the I.C.S.". The strength of the bureaucracy has made it possible to be highly selective in regard to changes and to reject those inconsistent with Indian ideas.

He goes on to consider the problems which face a foreign country endeavouring to help India either by finance or advice. He suggests that the emphasis in the United States administration has been on technical efficiency rather than on 'intellectuality' in the special sense in which he uses this term, and it is a measure of his candour and impartiality that he suggests that in India the foreign adviser "may have the uneasy feeling that his own intellectual training is inferior to that of the officials he seeks to advise". He suggests that for this reason private technical assistance (for example, from the great Foundations) has many advantages over government assistance. Advisers from such a background are more likely to be in contact with the people and, free from institution bias, will have a flexibility of approach which would correspond to that of those they advise.

As Professor Braibanti says, the Indian Administrative Service has taken over many of the traditions of the I.C.S. and successfully modified them to meet a democratic source of authority without going into psychological reverse. But I am not sure that this success can be expected to last. The I.C.S. achieved what it did through careful choice and in spite of somewhat haphazard training, because of its special view of authority and responsibility. Responsibility was given very early and each member of the Service was left to exercise it with very little supervision. He delegated authority as a rule with great freedom and gave his own decisions with complete confidence; his decision was not as a rule based on a calculation of the effect on his career but of what he believed to be right. He was usually supported because everyone in the Service shared a clear idea of the ethical standards which ought to be applied. If this is what the Indian Administrative Service wants to do it is surely handicapped from the start, because its officers cannot have the old assurance that their decisions will be unchallenged. They have in fact almost the certainty that they *will* be challenged by politicians however they act. The old system simply cannot operate once the officers are responsible to politicians on the spot. It was only able to grow because Whitehall was far and the telegraph not invented. What is remarkable is that the old tradition had such vitality that it lasted under dyarchy even until 1947 and it is astonishing that it should have continued at all thereafter. But it must surely be doomed.

Dr. Hugh Tinker's article on the Indian village in a way carries this discussion a stage further. Dr. Tinker begins by assailing the myth[1] of the *panchayat*, which

[1] Dr. Hugh Tinker discussed the idealization of the village community in his article on "Authority and Community in Village India", *J.A.A.*, Vol. XII, No. 4, October 1960, p. 193.

in Gandhian thought was the strong continuing strain in Indian life which had been destroyed by foreign rule. But while I am sure he is right in general, there is a truth behind the myth. Here no doubt I am influenced by the area I know best, the central Himalaya, where from ancient times the village community managed its own affairs – grazing, irrigation, tree-cutting, the breaking of new land – by its own informal association, in no recognized committee but as a group for which a small circle acted as an unorganized executive. There was little foreign interference here; in the plains of the Eastern Punjab, the Western United Province and Rajasthan, though often temporarily submerged by waves of foreign conquest, the essence of the village community persisted, at any rate in villages in which one caste was dominant. I believe the truth to be that, apart from this ancient village community (its activity directed sometimes by a formal group such as a *panchayat* but more often not) the only cohesive political force was always from outside, authoritarian and from above. It was feudal, coming downwards from a Raja or a Mogul official or eventually bureaucratic, coming from a British district magistrate. This was the nature of authority in every unit larger than the village. Every attempt at community development, at sending into the village an officer who is to be its servant, is bedevilled by this basic historic fact. The suspicion of the village community keeps the planning official at arms' length; his own cultural background too often makes him an authoritarian; the block development officer becomes a petty tyrant not very different from the Mogul *qanungo* or the Brahman official of the Mauryas.

This is to comment on only one aspect of these two essays and there are eight more. The editors are to be congratulated on a most stimulating and interesting compilation.

PHILIP MASON.

ADMINISTRATIVE LAW, by J. F. Garner. *Butterworths, London*, 1963; pp. xxxiv + 408; 57s. 6d.

This well produced and authoritative volume by the senior lecturer in law at the University of Birmingham will be found invaluable as a reference book. It should find a place in the government libraries of all developing countries as well as in those being formed in the schools and institutes of public administration. It is well indexed and documented with tables of statutes, cases and a bibliography. It is much more than a treatise on administrative law and contains a review and commentary on important aspects of administrative practice in Britain. The Administrative Procedure Act of the U.S.A. is included in an appendix.

The central government, its purposes, functions and forms, are described; the different forms of legislation; redress of grievances; and the place of administrative authorities in ligitation. There is a chapter on public corporations. Nearly half the book is devoted to a description of local authorities, their structure and the law relating to them, including chapters on local authority organization, finance, controls and functions. It is indeed a mine of information on the kind of questions so often asked by readers of this *Journal*. What are the rights, powers, privileges and duties of councillors? What should be their relationship with officers? The answers to these and a hundred other questions of topical interest to local as well as central administration are touched on from the aspect of British practice and experience. This publication will prove a good investment by all who have to battle with these problems.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

MATRIMONIAL LAWS OF THE SUDAN, by C. D'O. Farran. *Butterworth, London*, 1963; pp. xvi + 325; 57s. 6d.

A full length study of the interplay of various legal systems of family law (Mohammedan, Christian, pagan customary and civil) within a single state.

LANGUAGE IN AFRICA, edited by John Spencer. *Cambridge University Press*, 1963; pp. vii + 167; 21s.

Papers presented at a Conference at Ibadan on the general language situation in tropical Africa today, attended by linguistic specialists from African universities.

INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE ABSTRACTS: Vol. XII, No. 1, 1962. *Basil Blackwell, Oxford*, and *Presses Universitaires de France, Paris;* pp. 134; 12s., or 42s. for an annual subscription.

This quarterly publication contains abstracts, about half of which are in French, of 359 articles published from September to December 1961. The subjects covered relate not only to political science and theory, but to government and administration (some articles in this *Journal* are summarized), international relations and public opinion, parties, groups and elections.

THE BOMBAY MUNICIPAL CORPORATION: AN ELECTION STUDY, by B. A. V. Sharma and R. T. Jangam. *Popular Book Depot, Bombay*, 1962; pp.168; Rs. 10.

A study by two young students at Bombay University of the 1961 elections to a Corporation which is the premier institution of its kind in India.

EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE. *The Overseas Development Institute, London*, 1963; pp. 125; 7s. 6d.

A factual survey of the Government and private contribution to overseas development through education and training. Other pamphlets in this series on British aid will cover government finance, technical skills and colonial development.

PROGRESS VERSUS UTOPIA, by John A. Vieg. *Asia Publishing House, on behalf of thr Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi*, 1963; pp. 84; 25s.

This book contains four lectures delivered in India in 1962 emphasizing, for example, the use of modest targets in planning and programming, the need for a proper system of redressing grievances, and the development of a 'passion for excellence' in administrators.

AFRICAN AGRARIAN SYSTEMS, edited by Daniel Biebuyck. *International African Institute, Oxford University Press*, 1963; pp. xiii + 408; 45s.

This presents the preparatory papers – in either English or French but with summaries in the other language – and the results of the discussions at the second International African Seminar held in Leopoldsville in 1960. The papers analyse case studies illustrating the various basic factors and problems connected with the land in tropical Africa today. F. D. Homan, C. M. N. White, Dr. Audrey Richards and Professors Monica Wilson and Elizabeth Colson are among the contributors, as they have been to earlier issues of this *Journal*.

LAW AND PRACTICE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN NORTHERN NIGERIA, by M. J. Campbell. *African Universities Press, Lagos; Sweet and Maxwell, London*, 1963; pp. 236; 35s.

Besides explaining the law, this text-book describes the working of native authorities, organization of councils and execution of services. There are chapters on electoral procedure, finance, staffing problems and land tenure.

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